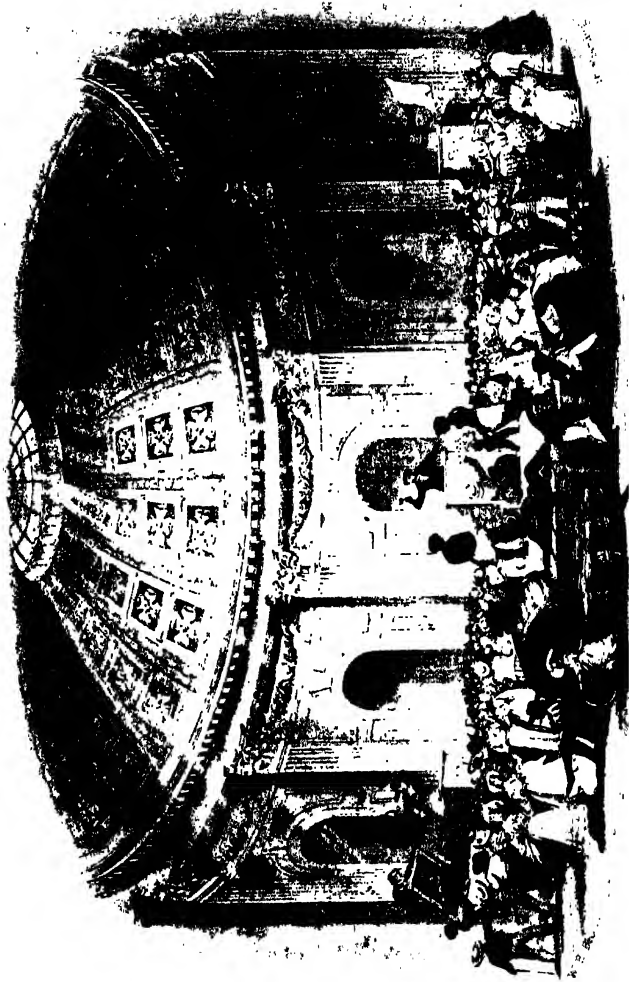


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View of the interior of the Pantheon, Rome, showing the dome and the crowd of people gathered inside.

THE
SLAVE STATES
OF
AMERICA.)

BY
J. S. (BUCKINGHAM, ESQ.
AUTHOR OF
"AMERICA, HISTORICAL, STATISTIC, AND DESCRIPTIVE."

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE ALBERT.

LONDON, March, 1842.

.MORRIS.
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SWAN

As Your Royal Highness has had the kindness to assure me, that it would afford you great pleasure to continue your distinguished patronage to my present Work, on the Slave States of America ; and still further, to express a generous hope, that my labours, in this instance, may be crowned with the same success which attended my former Work on the Free States of that country ;—I avail myself of this privilege, to lay before Your Royal Highness a faithful Narrative of my Journey through that portion of the North American Republic, in which the Institution of Slavery still exists, and to which, its supporters and defenders still cling, with a tenacity as much to be deplored as it is to be wondered at.

I believe that one of the first public occasions on which Your Royal Highness honoured with Your presence, any great assemblage of the People of England, was on presiding at the meeting held in London, during my absence in America, for the purpose of considering the best means of abolishing Slavery and the Slave Trade throughout the World. I well remember the deep impression which the news of that event created on the other side of the Atlantic—when the illustrious Consort of the Queen of England, under whose benign auspices, Slavery had been abolished in her own dominions, was seen coming forward and pledging himself to the World, as the Friend of the unhappy Slave, in whatever region his lot might be cast—by placing himself at the head of a Society for promoting his Freedom, composed of statesmen of all parties, and individuals of all sects and persuasions—with Her Majesty as its Patroness, and Your Royal Highness as its President. It was believed by many, that the moral influence of England, thus represented and embodied, would do more to advance the cause of Emancipation in America, than any agency that had yet been put into operation. Those, therefore, who desired this consummation—and they comprehend the most numerous, intelligent, and virtuous portion of the community in the

Northern States of America—regarded this event as a new star of hope that had arisen on the horizon ; while those who would retard this consummation, beheld it as an evil omen, with corresponding dread or fear.

To strengthen Your Royal Highness in your high and generous resolves, and to encourage that large portion of the people of England, by whom this noble effort to “strike off the chains of the captive, and bid the oppressed go free,” is cordially supported and sustained—these Volumes may be referred to, as containing abundant proofs of the evils, which it is the object of the Society over which Your Royal Highness presides, to root out : as well as of the benefits which could not fail to result from the substitution of vigorous and productive Free-labour, instead of the inefficient, because ill-requited, toil of unwilling Slaves, over the magnificent regions through which these Travels extend.

As my former Work has had the honour to be appealed to, as an authority, on the subject of Free-trade, by the two great leaders of the House of Commons, Lord John Russell and Sir Robert Peel, in their speeches on the Corn Laws ; I may venture to hope, that these Statesmen, and their respective followers, will find in my present Work more important evidence still, when questions involving the Right

TO H. R. H. THE PRINCE ALBERT.

of Search—and the impolicy of supporting indirectly the Institution of Slavery, by favouring the easy admission of its produce, while the fruits of its golden harvests, sown and reaped by Free-labour, alone, are virtually excluded—come, as sooner or later they must, to be discussed in the British Parliament.

With every wish that health, happiness, and the highest renown that good deeds can win, may continue to crown a life so auspiciously begun, and that this life may long be preserved, for the benefit of Your country and mankind, is the sincere wish of

Your Royal Highness's much obliged,

And devoted servant,

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

4, *Camden Terrace, West,*
Camden New Town.

P R E F A C E.

WHEN my recent work on the Free States of America was given to the world, I was neither so inexperienced nor so unreasonable as to expect it would meet with that *universal* commendation, which authors, like other men, may honourably desire, but which, amidst the variety of minds, and variety of motives, swaying the pens of critics, few indeed have the good fortune to obtain.

I must admit, however, that considering the indiscriminate praise bestowed on American institutions and manners by some, and the equally indiscriminate censure lavished on everything American by others, I did apprehend more difficulty in rendering a strictly impartial book—which should award both praise and blame in such proportions as facts should warrant, and in such proportions only—acceptable to so large a class of readers, as the extensive sale of the work itself seems to imply. I have, therefore, been agreeably surprised to find my fears on this head groundless; and one of the rare occurrences of life has thus, in this instance, been my portion; namely, that my most sanguine expectations have been outstripped by reality. Some few objections, made as they have been, in no unfriendly spirit, deserve, however, a brief notice. One objection is this: that too much space has been devoted to historical, geographical, and statistic information,

PREFACE.

and too little to that of manners. I regard this, however, as one of the principal merits of the book. Mrs. Trollope, Captain Hamilton, Captain Basil Hall, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Power, Miss Fanny Kemble, Miss Martineau, Captain Marryatt, and the two most recent and most interesting of them all, the Honourable Mr. Murray, and Mr. George Combe, had each, according to their several views, given much more of their space and attention to American manners than to the history, topography, productions, and statistics of the country ; and I considered it, therefore, as much a duty, as I felt it to be a pleasure, to supply this deficiency ; so that even those who had read all the writers named, might find much that was new in my own pages ; and this I believe is now generally conceded to be the case.

Another objection is this : that instead of always stating facts and giving abstracts of opinions in my own language, I have repeated the exact words of American editors and American authors. This, also, I felt it my duty to do, for two reasons ; one of which was, to prevent all complaint on the part of American readers, by letting them see the original authorities for the statements made ; and the other was, to obtain the confidence of English readers in my strict impartiality, by showing them, that I was desirous of giving the Americans, in these extracts, the privilege of speaking for themselves. In this, therefore, I believe I have done perfectly right ; as I wished not merely to pass a judgment, but by showing the original grounds on which such judgment was formed, to obtain the assent of all parties to its fairness and equity.

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Lastly, a few have expressed their objection to any allusion to my own professional labours in the country, either in the delivery of my lectures on the countries of the Eastern World, or in the advocacy of my peculiar views, in favour of Education, Temperance, Institutions of Benevolence, and Peace. To such, I have only to reply, that it would be an act of injustice to the American people, not to state the cordial reception which they uniformly gave to a foreigner and a stranger, coming among them for what they deemed a laudable and honourable purpose; and that I should have reproached myself with the deepest ingratitude, if I had not publicly recorded their liberality and hospitality in this respect. This is, indeed, one of the features of the national manners, too important to be overlooked; namely, their eagerness after useful information, the liberality with which they honour and reward those who gratify their taste in this, and the cordiality with which they receive and co-operate with any one willing to labour with them in the formation of benevolent and philanthropic undertakings. And as this is one of the most *favourable* traits of the national character, it would be unpardonable to omit it in a work fearlessly noticing their *defects*. This would be an injustice which I should be ashamed to commit.

In the same spirit of impartiality, I have endeavoured to describe the state of Slavery in the Southern States, of which these volumes will contain a full account. I shall perhaps be blamed by some English readers for the admissions which I make, if not in favour, at least in palliation, of the conduct of many slaveholders in America, as well as in the

PREFACE.

confessions which truth demands, of the well-being, and even comfort, of some of the domestic slaves. On the other hand, I expect my full share of censure from a large section, at least, of the people of America, for daring to speak, as truth compels me to do, of the wretched condition of the great body of the African race throughout the South ; and of the reckless indifference to human life, and human obligations of every kind, which the very system of Slavery engenders in nearly all the white population who live beneath its influence. To the censures of both these parties I shall be willing to submit, and console myself with the belief that I have served the cause of truth and justice, better than by attempting to please either.

To the conductors of the public press generally, provincial as well as metropolitan, I have to return my best acknowledgments, for the highly favourable opinions they have been pleased to express of my former labours ; and I venture to indulge the hope, that the present volumes will commend themselves to their attention as fully as those which have gone before.

The critic in the *QUARTERLY REVIEW* forms the only exception of importance, that I have met with, to the general fairness and courtesy of the class to which I am indebted for so much favour. But there are circumstances which sufficiently explain the bitterness of the proprietors and conductors of that publication, to everything proceeding from my pen ; and the interests of justice to literary men and literature, demand that these circumstances should be revealed.

PREFACE.

Not to press these upon the reader's attention here, however, I have consigned them to a fitter place—in the Appendix of the last volume, where they may be seen by all who are desirous of unravelling the craft and mystery of reviewing.

The only change that it has been thought advisable to make in the embellishments of the work, has been to substitute a smaller number of large steel engravings, for the greater number of wood-cuts; and as this has been effected at an increase of expense to the publishers, it is hoped that it will be deemed an improvement.

It has been my earnest desire, by all the means within my power, to remove and destroy those international prejudices, everywhere too strong, but especially so between the ill-informed and illiberal of the English and American population towards each other, respectively; and to substitute, in their stead, feelings of kindness, respect, and mutual and reciprocal good-will; believing, as I do, that the existence of a cordial and friendly understanding, a lasting peace, and a free commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the United States of America, will be of the greatest advantage to themselves and to the best interests of mankind; and that any interruption to this would be a great public calamity, which the wise and the good of both nations would deplore; and which every good citizen of each ought, therefore, to do his utmost to avert.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

CAMDEN-TOWN, LONDON,
March, 1842.

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THE SLAVE STATES

OF

AMERICA.

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CHAP. I.

Embarkation at New York for Charleston—Delightful weather—
Drunken crew—System pursued with respect to seamen—Beautiful prospect of the harbour and city of New York—Description of the voyage to Charleston—Penance of association with disagreeable passengers—Thunder, lightning, and rains off Cape Hatteras—Arrival at Charleston—Landing.

ON Friday, the 11th of January, 1839, we embarked at New York, on board the packet-ship, Calhoun, for Charleston in South Carolina. The distance of this city from New York by land exceeds 700 miles; and as the bad state of the roads through the latter part of the route makes land-travelling disagreeable during the winter months, we were induced to prefer the sea voyage, though this also has its inconveniences at this season of the year. The ship in which we had taken our passage was 275 tons burthen, and had her cabins and dining-room under a poop-deck; two

of these cabins, with double berths in each, and separate accommodation for a man-servant, were assigned to us for 90 dollars passage-money.

The day was remarkably fine ; the wind being light from the southward, the sun warm, the sky bright, and the general appearance like that of one of the finest days of September or October in England. It was, indeed, so warm, that the captain and pilot went without their jackets ; and the shade was more agreeable to us all than the sun. We had no thermometer open, but I should conceive the heat to have been 75° at least, which was a powerful contrast to the state of the atmosphere a few days before, when the thermometer was at 6° only above zero. The pilot, indeed, said, that though he had followed his profession for more than twenty years in New York, he had never remembered so hot a day as this in January.

We hauled off from the wharf about eleven o'clock, and were towed down by a steam-vessel as far as the Narrows, (the usual charge for the hire of such steam-vessels being ten dollars an hour,) where we began to make sail. This was, however, a work of some difficulty, as the crew were all intoxicated ; some, indeed, were so drunk as to be wholly unfit for duty, and all were in a state of confusion and insubordination. The captain was obliged to assume a rigorous exercise of authority, to prevent a mutiny ; and the greater part of the actual labour devolved upon his mates and himself. I learnt from the pilot that for years past it had been a rare case for a ship to sail from the harbour of New York, without the greater number of the crew being drunk ; and he thought that this evil had increased rather than diminished of late.

The system of shipping seamen here is like that of nearly all the seaports of England and America. A set of worthless and abandoned men, who keep boarding-houses and grog-shops combined, lie in wait about the wharfs and docks for the sailors as they arrive in port; when, by various arts and insinuations, they prevail upon them to bring their chests and hammocks to their houses, where, in a very short time after landing, they are plied with liquor till they become insensible of all that is passing around them. They are then put to bed, and most probably robbed of all their hard-earned wages, the reward of a toilsome and perilous voyage: or, if not directly robbed of it by the landlord, it is soon dissipated in cards, women, and drink, the largest portion of it finding its way into the landlord's pocket. Thus destitute, they are kept by these harpies until some ship requires hands: and then, with a bill of several dollars run up against each, for maintenance and supplies, at a most extravagant rate, they are handed over, in a state of intoxication, to the ship requiring them. The advance of wages which ought to be appropriated to the purchase of clothes and other necessities for the seaman's voyage, is then taken by the landlord for the payment of his demands, while the plundered victim of his villany and avarice goes to sea perfectly unprovided for; often, indeed, without a second shirt or jacket to shift in wet weather, and wholly without the ordinary necessities of a seaman's life.

This is the condition of not less than 100,000 seamen in Britain and America at the present time; and yet, whenever a proposition is made in either country, to sweep this abomination from off the earth,

by prohibiting all traffic in, or sale of, ardent spirits, it is resisted, as an infringement of the liberties of the subject! as if the curse of intoxication were not the greatest of all infringements on human liberty, drowning all sense, reason, and consciousness, making men slaves to those who thus decoy and entrap them, and rapidly destroying both body and soul. Without the agency of this poisonous drink, the landlords would be utterly unable to effect their nefarious purposes, as the sober sailor cannot be thus plundered and despoiled; but with the powerful aid of ardent spirits, the harpy easily effects all he desires. The only cure, therefore, for this evil, is to banish these spirits from traffic, sale, or use, as we would burn unwholesome meat, hunt down the destroying tiger, extinguish a fire, or shut out a pestilence from our cities. All these we do without scruple; but intoxicating drinks, which destroy more than all the wolves, tigers, fires, and plagues of the world combined, we suffer to flow on, unopposed and unrestrained, as though they poured blessings, rather than curses, on the land!

As we beat out through the Narrows, with a fine breeze that had just sprung up from the south-west, the harbour and city of New York appeared to us quite as beautiful as when we first entered it, upwards of a year ago, from sea. 'The forest of ships' masts, and the number of flags and signals waving from them, as they fringed the shores of the city, which we were fast leaving behind us, on the Hudson and the East River sides, with the Battery and Castle Gardens in the centre: the forts on Governor's Island and Bedlow's Island, the heights of Brooklyn,

the town of Brighton, and the beautiful villas on Staten Island, all appeared, in the brightest sunshine, and beneath a cloudless and deep-blue sky, more beautiful than I could have thought possible at this wintry season of the year ; and we enjoyed the prospect exceedingly.

The passage out through the Narrows, from the Bay of New York to the sea, is among the finest pictures of marine scenery that can be imagined. The hills on both sides are thickly studded with mansions, villas, hotels, and other buildings, many of them with porticos and pediments like Grecian temples ; and these being of the purest white, they look like Parian marble from the sea : while the blue waters of the Atlantic, seen through the opening of the Narrows in the distance, affords a pleasing contrast, and makes up a picture of great beauty.

When the hour of dinner came, however, we began to repent our embarkation. The passengers who assembled at the table with us, to the number of ten, were among the most vulgar, dirty, ill-bred, and uncultivated persons that it had ever been our lot to mingle with ; and the prospect of sitting down three times a day to the same table with such a party, was a very unpromising one. We had not been wanting in our inquiries on this head ; but as passengers in these short voyages rarely make application for berths before the day of the ship's sailing, we were unable to ascertain who were to be our companions, until it was too late for us to avoid them.

Our voyage to Charleston occupied nearly seven days, as we did not arrive there till late on the night of the 17th, though the passage is often effected in three days ; and taking it altogether, it was one of the

most disagreeable passages I ever remember to have experienced. The ship was unobjectionable, as she sailed well, was an excellent sea-boat, and performed all her evolutions with ease and safety. The captain, however, though a good seaman, and very vigilant and attentive to the navigation of the ship, appeared to feel no more concern for the comfort of his passengers, than if they had been so many head of cattle that he was transporting from one port to another. He never once sat at table with us, having his meals either sent on deck, or taken to him in the steward's pantry : and he never once took off his clothes, or went to bed, during the whole passage, lying on the hen-coops on the poop, or on a bench in the cabin. The mate was just as rough and unpolished a being as the captain, and quite as careless about the cleanliness of his person and apparel. The passengers had not one redeeming quality that we could discover, but were uniformly low, vulgar, ignorant, and dissipated men. Their constant occupation, from immediately after breakfast till near midnight, with the intervention of meals only, was playing at cards and dominos on the cabin table, or smoking cigars on the deck. The wind being foul for the greater part of the way, and the cold and damp atmosphere rendering the deck unattractive, these men remained in the cabin all day, sitting around the stove. This so completely destroyed all privacy, that we were never alone but when in bed, and even then we were perpetually disturbed by their gambling and vociferation ; so that our only refuge, and that a most imperfect one, was to shut ourselves within our sleeping-berths, and read through the tedious and weary day, which seemed twice its ordinary length.

On passing round Cape Hatteras, which lies about midway on the coast between New York and Charleston, we experienced the usual weather commonly found off that projection, in thunder, lightning, and heavy rains. We had heard no such rains, indeed, since we were in Bengal, when the heavy setting in or breaking up of the monsoon deluges the earth; and these were to the full as violent. We approached the shoal off Cape Hatteras as near as seven fathoms, and had a most turbulent swell and long-ranging sea, with a mist arising from the water (its temperature being 64° while that of the atmosphere was only 42°) which was driven across its surface like steam from a boiling cauldron, and made it often difficult to see the water itself more than a few feet from the ship, though the air above was perfectly free from fog.

On the 6th day at noon we hauled in for Charleston, and soon obtained a pilot; but as the state of the tide was unfavourable for our crossing the bar, we had to wait on the outside, lying to, under easy sail, until four, P. M., when we stood in for the entrance, with a light wind from the north-east.

The greatest depth over the bar at spring-tides is 16 feet at high-water, and 10 feet at low. As our vessel drew 12 feet, we were enabled to pass over it at half-flood; but two larger vessels, the *Isabella* of Greenock, and the *Jesse Logan* of Liverpool, were obliged to anchor in the offing all night, for want of sufficient water during daylight to take them in.

The entrance to Charleston has nothing of the grandeur that characterizes the bay and harbour of New York, though the appearance of the city is inte-

resting. The bar is difficult, from the channel over it being so narrow; the passage is well buoyed, however, on both sides; and, with the light-house and several landmarks near it, the navigation is easy and safe. The shores all around the entrance are low and sandy, with wood and cotton plantations, and are entirely destitute of picturesque beauty.

It was eight o'clock before we reached the anchorage, though we passed over the bar at five, and the distance is not more than ten miles; but the wind was so light as scarcely to give steerage-way to the ship; and we were carried up to our berth almost entirely by the flood-tide. We accordingly anchored close to the wharf, and going on shore took up our abode for the night at the Planters' Hotel, which has the reputation of being the first in the city.

We found ourselves so ill accommodated here, however, that we sought out on the following morning for more agreeable quarters, and finding these at the Carolina Hotel, kept by Mr. Stuart, a Scotsman, in Broad Street, we removed there without delay.

It was on Thursday night that we arrived in Charleston, and I devoted the two following days to the delivery of the numerous letters of introduction with which I had been furnished by friends at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, to resident families at this place. By all parties I was received with a great degree of cordiality and kindness, and nearly all of them took the earliest opportunity to wait on us at the hotel.

We remained at Charleston for three weeks; and during that period I enjoyed frequent opportunities of friendly intercourse with many of its most dis-

tinguished and intelligent inhabitants, and obtained access through them to everything I wished to see, and to all the information I desired to obtain. My lectures on Egypt and Palestine, which were first given in the Hall of the Medical College, and then in the First Presbyterian Church, were attended with audiences exceeding a thousand in number, and our stay was rendered as agreeable and instructive as possible. Before entering, however, upon a description of Charleston, it may be well to give a brief sketch of the past history and present condition of South Carolina as a State.

CHAP. II.

First visit of Europeans to Florida—Singular search of the Spaniard, Ponce de Leon—Explored by Verazzana the Italian—Arrival of French Refugees—Barbarous conflicts—Settlement of Sir Walter Raleigh—Grant of Carolina to Charles the Second—John Locke's Code, or Fundamental Constitution—Religious freedom—Negro slavery—Agrarian laws—Foundation of Charleston—European settlers—Indian war—Buccaneers—Introduction of rice—First Quaker governor—Christian missionaries—General state of the colony in 1700—British encouragement of the slave-trade—Character and death of the pirate chief, Blackbeard—Carolina proclaimed a colony of the crown—Visit of several Cherokee chiefs to England—Addition of Swiss settlers—Blacks and whites—French fanatics—Scottish rebels—Discovery and cultivation of indigo—Alarm of the planters from their own slaves—Defence of Charleston in the revolutionary war—Contest of the Carolinas with Congress.

THE early history of the territory now occupied by the States of North and South Carolina, is not so accurately recorded, or so fully detailed, as the histories of the more Northern States, but sufficient is known of it, to form a narrative of some interest. It appears that so early as the year 1512, the Spaniards set up their claim to nearly all the territory south of Virginia; contending that Sebastian Cabot, the Venetian navigator in the service of the English, had never advanced farther south than the Capes of the Chesapeake; whereas, in that year, 1512, a Spanish officer, named Ponce de Leon, then governor of Porto Rico, landed on its shores. The object

of his voyage was indeed a curious one, as it is described by the Spanish historians, to have been undertaken in quest of a land, which was reported to contain a brook, or fountain, endued with the miraculous power of restoring age and decrepitude to the bloom and vigour of youth. Believing that he had now attained the favoured region, he hastened to take possession, in his sovereign's name, of so rare and valuable an acquisition. He bestowed on it the name of Florida, (a name now confined to the southern portion of the whole coast,) either on account of the vernal beauty that adorned its surface, or because he discovered it on the Sunday before Easter, which the Spaniards call "Pasque de Flores;" but though he chilled his aged frame by bathing in every stream that he could find, he had the mortification of returning an older instead of a younger man to Porto Rico. No settlement was, therefore, effected in the country by this expedition.

In 1523, the whole coast was explored by an Italian navigator, Verazzana, in the service of the French. At a subsequent period, about 1560, it was determined to appropriate a part of this territory as a place of refuge for the retreat of the French Protestants, who were as much aggrieved by the persecution of the Catholics in France, as the Puritans had been by the Protestants in England; and America was destined to furnish an asylum to both.

It was in 1562 that the first two vessels containing the Protestant refugees were despatched from France; and these arriving at the mouth of the Albemarle River, or Sound, landed there, when, in honour of their sovereign, Charles the Ninth, they called the

country Carolina. In 1564, these were followed by three other ships, bearing more of the unfortunate Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, and these were speedily followed by a still larger squadron ; the king of France having countenanced and assisted these emigrants to leave their native shores, as Charles had done with the Puritans in England. Their fate, however, was far more unhappy than that of the New England Pilgrims ; for scarcely had they begun to realize some of the benefits of their new abode, before they were attacked by the Spaniards ; and when they had surrendered as Frenchmen, they were all put to death as heretics ! a placard being affixed at the place of execution, announcing that “ the captives were not put to the sword as subjects of France, but as followers of Luther ! ” Nearly a thousand French Protestants were thus put to death ; and only one of their whole number was allowed to live, in order that he might carry intelligence of the massacre to France.

The French monarch, though he had assisted the emigration of the exiles, did not feel a sufficient interest about their fate to take any steps, on this intelligence ; but a French nobleman, De Gorgues, indignant at such treachery and inhumanity, fitted out three ships at his own expense, and sailed for Carolina, where he attacked the unsuspecting occupants ; and obtaining the co-operation of the Indians, he overpowered and put to death all the Catholics, who offered any resistance, and hung up those whom he made prisoners, on the nearest trees, announcing, after the manner of the first murderers, the cause of the massacre, by a placard exhibited at the place of exe-

cution, which stated that "the captives were not put to death as Spaniards, but as murderers and robbers." Having thus accomplished his purpose, he razed the forts to the ground, and, destroying every habitation, he left the country, and returned to France.

In 1588, Sir Walter Raleigh established his first settlement on the Isle of Roanoak, in Albemarle Sound, and the name of the whole country was changed from Carolina to Virginia. In 1622, some English planters and their families settled here, as refugees from other parts of North America, especially from Massachusetts. At this time, Charles the First granted to his attorney-general, Sir Robert Heath, a patent of the whole region, under the new name of Carolina; but this was subsequently forfeited, by his not performing the conditions annexed to the grant.

It was not until 1663, and after many unsuccessful attempts to colonize this territory, that a charter was obtained for its possession and government, of Charles the Second, in a remarkable manner. Some of his courtiers, to whom he had been most indebted for his restoration, presented to him a memorial, representing to him "their earnest desire to promote the propagation of the gospel, and desiring for this purpose the royal grant of some part of America not yet settled or planted, and where there were only such barbarous people as had no knowledge of God." On this pretence, the whole region, from lat. 36° north, about Albemarle Sound, a little to the north of Cape Hatteras, all the way to the river St. Matheo, was erected into a province, under the name of Carolina, and granted to the following persons:—Lord Chan-

cellor Clarendon; Monk, Duke of Albemarle; Lord Craven; Lord Berkeley; Lord Ashley (afterwards Earl of Shaftesbury); Sir George Carteret; Sir John Colleton; and Sir William Berkeley. By these, a joint-stock company was formed, in shares, and a proprietary government established. As an inducement for persons to emigrate and settle in the new province, the fullest enjoyment of religious freedom was promised by the very parties who were most hostile to its exercise at home: and every freeman arriving in the country was secured the enjoyment of a hundred acres of land for himself, and fifty for his servant, at a rent of only a halfpenny per acre, for five years, with complete exemption from all taxes, customs, or other dues.

These attractions drew many settlers; so that in the course of a few years, the coast to the south had been so far surveyed as to open new sources of profit, and to induce the original patent-holders to seek for an extension of their limits and powers. Accordingly, in 1665, a second charter was obtained by them, reciting and confirming all the privileges of the first, but extending their limits southward to the 29th degree of north latitude, and making their breadth to extend from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific or South Sea! The powers granted to the patentees were almost equal to those of royalty itself. They were allowed to create an order of nobility, by conferring titles of honour, differing only in style from those conferred by the British monarch; and this proviso was again emphatically introduced — “The proprietors were authorized to grant indulgences to such colonists as might be prevented by conscientious scruples from

conforming to the Church of England : to the 'end that all persons might have liberty to enjoy their own judgments and consciences in religious concerns, provided they disturbed not the civil order and peace of the province."

New energies being thus called into action, the peopling of the province went on more rapidly ; and a number of planters came from Barbadoes, conducted by Sir John Yeoman, to settle themselves near Cape Fear. There appears, however, to have been great laxity in morals ; and a premium was offered to dishonesty by the regulations introduced professedly to induce emigrants to flock hither. Among other things, it was enacted that no settler should be liable to be sued for any debt owing out of the province for the space of five years ; and that none of the inhabitants should be at liberty to accept a power of attorney to sue their neighbours for debts contracted abroad. This colony was, therefore, for a long time considered as the peculiar asylum of fugitive debtors and criminals. As there were few clergy or other ministers of religion, during the first twenty years of the settlement, it was enacted "that in order that none might be hindered from a work so necessary as marriage for the preservation of mankind, any man and woman presenting themselves to the governor and council, along with a few of their neighbours, and declaring their mutual purpose to unite in matrimony, should be legally deemed husband and wife."

This state of things became at length so unpromising, that a new form of government was deemed necessary. Accordingly, in 1669, an instrument was drawn up by direction of the proprietaries, under

the title of "The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina;" its preamble assigning as a reason for its adoption, "that the government of this province may be made more agreeable to the monarchy under which we live; and that we may avoid creating a numerous democracy." What gives a more than usual degree of interest to this instrument is the fact, that it was drawn up by the celebrated John Locke, the author of the "Essay on the Human Understanding," who was patronized and employed for this purpose by the Earl of Shaftesbury. Some points of this are too curious to be passed over without notice, especially as coming from such a pen; as it is believed that Locke had full powers to frame as well as to compose this Constitution; indeed, he himself, at a subsequent period, represented the work as his own, and became, through it, a competitor with William Penn for the honour of being the first enlightened legislator for America.

There were altogether eight proprietaries already named, to whom the grant of Charles the Second had been extended. Of these, the eldest was, by Locke's Constitution, to be palatine of the province during his life, and at his death to be succeeded by the eldest of the surviving seven. The seven other proprietaries, were to be severally invested with the chief offices of state, as admiral, chamberlain, chancellor, constable, chief-justice, high-steward, and treasurer. All these great officers might reside in England, and each appoint his own deputy to act in the colony. There were to be eight supreme courts, to each of which was to be attached a college of twelve assistants: and each of such courts was to be presided

over by the deputy of one of the eight great officers of state. The palatine's court was to represent the king, and through it the palatine would ratify the enactments of the legislature, and exercise all the ordinary executive powers of royalty.

Two classes of hereditary nobility, with possessions proportioned to their respective dignities, and for ever inalienable and indivisible, were to be created by the proprietaries, under the titles of landgraves and caciques; and these, together with the deputies of the proprietaries; and representatives chosen by the freemen, constituted the parliament of the province. This was appointed to be called together every two years, and, when assembled, to form one deliberative body, and occupy the same chamber; but no measure could be discussed here, that had not been previously approved by the grand council of the province, which consisted almost exclusively of the proprietaries' officers and the nobility.

Trial by jury was established in all the courts; but the office of hired or professional pleaders was disallowed, as a base and sordid occupation! and no man was admitted to plead the cause of another, without previously deposing, on oath, that he neither had received, nor would accept, the slightest remuneration for his services!

To avoid the confusion arising from a multiplicity of laws, all acts of the provincial parliament were appointed to endure only one hundred years; after which they were to cease and expire of themselves, without the formality of an express repeal; and to avoid the perplexity occasioned by a multiplicity of commentators, all written comments whatever on the

Fundamental Constitution, or on any part of the statutes or common law of Carolina, were strictly prohibited.

The most remarkable part of this Fundamental Constitution, however, is that which secures to all persons the right of freely exercising their own religion. As the reasons assigned for this privilege appear to be as cogent and effective as they are simple and intelligible, they are well worthy of extensive diffusion, and of practical adoption in every code of laws or regulations for the government, not only of colonies, but of mother-countries also. The provision is expressed in these terms:—

“Since the natives of the place who are concerned in our plantation are utterly strangers to Christianity, whose idolatry, ignorance, or mistake, gives us no right to expel them, or use them ill; and those who remove from other parts to plant there, will unavoidably be of different opinions concerning matters of religion, the liberty whereof they will expect to have allowed them, and it will not be reasonable for us on this account to keep them out; that civil peace may be maintained amidst the diversity of opinions, and our agreement and compact with all men may be duly and faithfully observed, the violation whereof, upon what pretence soever, cannot be without great offence to Almighty God, and great scandal to the religion we profess; and also that Jews, heathens, and other dissenters from the purity of the Christian religion, may not be scared, and kept at a distance from it, but having an opportunity of acquainting themselves with the truth and reasonableness of its doctrines, and the peaceableness and inoffensiveness of its professors, may, by good usage and persuasion, and all those convincing methods of gentleness and meekness suitable to the rules and design of the gospel, be won over to embrace and unfeignedly to receive the truth—THEREFORE any seven or more persons agreeing in any religion, shall constitute a church or profession, to which they shall give some name to distinguish it from others.”

To show, however, how possible it is for extreme liberality of sentiment on some topics, to co-exist in the same mind with illiberality on others, it should be stated, that this same Fundamental Constitution recognized the lawfulness of slavery, one of its provisions being couched in these terms:—"That every freeman of Carolina shall possess absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever. This provision is the more remarkable, as at this time there were few or no negro slaves in the province, excepting only a very small number who had accompanied Sir John Yeamans and his followers from Barbadoes. Locke, however, lived to have clearer ideas of the injustice of slavery before he died; for at a subsequent period, in his controversy with Sir Robert Filmer, the great apologist for tyrannical government in England, Locke thus expresses himself: "Slavery is so vile and miserable an estate of man, and so directly opposite to the generous temper and courage of our nation, that it is hardly to be conceived that an Englishman, much less a gentleman, should plead for it."

The adoption of the Fundamental Constitution for Carolina was immediately followed by the installation of the Duke of Albemarle into the office of palatine of the province; and the sum of 12,000*l.* sterling was expended on the equipment of a fleet, which sailed in 1670, with emigrants and provisions for the colony. With this expedition was sent out to the governor a letter of instructions, containing twenty-three articles, called "Temporary Agrarian Laws," relative to the distribution of the lands, together with the plan of a magnificent town, which he was desired

to build with all convenient speed, and to call it Charles-Town, in honour of the king; and in 1671 the foundation of this town was laid on the banks of the Ashley river, as the metropolis of Carolina. From this time onward, additional settlers came more rapidly, but they were of very mixed character. Among them were many of the Puritans of England, who were induced to prefer this new region to that of their brethren in Massachusetts; but among them were also many of the disappointed Cavaliers, for whom no recompense could be found in England, and to whom estates were given here; as well as rakes, gamblers, and persons of profligate habits and desperate character: so that the most opposite sentiments, views, and feelings were brought into conflict with each other.

In 1673, a further addition was made to the colony, by the emigration of many settlers from the recently-conquered Dutch province of New Netherlands, now New York, who came to Carolina.

In 1679, the position of the first Charleston having been found inconvenient, a new locality was fixed upon for a second city of the same name; and the point chosen for this purpose was at the confluence of the rivers Ashley and Cooper, nearer the sea, where the modern town now stands; and in this year, 1679, its foundations were first laid.

An Indian war broke out in 1680, in which many of the Indians were taken captive. The governor encouraged their capture by offering a certain sum for every Indian brought to Charleston, and he reimbursed himself by selling these Indians to traders who frequented this port from the West Indies, where

they were taken and sold for slaves. This practice of kidnapping the Indians for sale, continued long after the war had ceased; so powerful were the temptations which it offered to men who were too indolent to labour, and too unprincipled to be scrupulous as to the manner of acquiring gain. As one evil almost constantly engenders others, so this early slave-trade in the persons of the native Indians brought a new curse on the colony; for the traders from the West Indies, who were the purchasers of the slaves, imported chiefly rum in return; and the cheapness and excessive use of this led to all manner of disorders in the habits of the people; the evil indeed, became so crying as to induce the legislature, in 1683, to pass certain laws for the repression of drunkenness.

Nevertheless, emigrants continued to resort to Carolina from all quarters. A large party came from Ireland, under the guidance of a person named Fergusson; another party from Scotland came out under the direction of Lord Cardroes, afterwards Earl of Buchan, escaping from the tyranny of the Earl of Lauderdale; and a third party came also from Somersetshire in England, chiefly pious dissenters, led by Humphrey Blake, brother and heir of the distinguished British admiral of that name, escaping also from religious persecution at home.

The good effects which might have resulted from the addition of such settlers as these to the colony, were speedily counteracted, however, by a mischievous and unprincipled alliance between the inhabitants of Carolina, and a set of buccaneers or pirates, which then infested the West India seas, and plundered

everything they could lay their hands upon. It is true that royal countenance had been given to these piracies, by the fact that the king bestowed the order of knighthood on a Welshman named Henry Morgan, who had plundered the Spanish possessions of Panama and Portobello; and the governor and residents in Carolina, harboured, encouraged, and assisted these scourges of the sea, in return for the ill-gotten gold which they squandered among them when in port.

The revolution of 1688 in England made little or no change in the relationship of Carolina with the mother-country; but in 1693, the "Fundamental Constitution" of John Locke, which had lasted only twenty-three years, was abolished; and "its abolition," says the historian, "was unregretted by any party, for it had neither procured respect to the government, nor afforded happiness to the people."

It was about this period, 1694, that rice, now the staple produce of Carolina, was first introduced into the province; and this circumstance is thus recorded by Mr. Grahame:—"A vessel from Madagascar, on her homeward voyage to Britain, happening to touch at Charleston, the captain, in acknowledgment of the hospitable civilities which he had received from the governor, South, presented him with a bag of seed-rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and yielded a prodigious increase. The governor divided it between several of his friends, who agreed to attempt the experiment of its culture; and, planting their parcels in different soils, found the result to exceed their most sanguine expectations. From this casual occurrence, Carolina derived her staple com-

modity, the chief support of her people, and the main source of her opulence."

The first governor appointed under the new system of government meant to supersede the Fundamental Constitution, was John Archdale, a Quaker, one of the proprietaries at home, a man of excellent understanding and great command of temper. He was invested with almost absolute power, but used it with great discretion; and adhering rigidly to his Quaker principles throughout, he effected more valuable reforms in public policy and private manners, than any of his predecessors. This same individual, after his return to England in 1698, was elected a member of parliament for the borough of Chipping Wycombe, and actually entered the House of Commons as such; but refusing to take the usual oaths, and tendering his simple affirmative instead, this was rejected, and he was accordingly prevented from taking his seat. In the year of his quitting the government of Carolina (1696), which he did with all the honours that a grateful community could bestow, there arrived from Massachusetts some members of an association formed at Dorchester, near Boston, "to encourage the settlement of churches and the promotion of religion in the southern plantations;" and by these the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was for the first time administered in Carolina. They founded the small town of Dorchester, about eighteen miles from Charleston, in memory of the town from which they originally came.

In 1703, an Indian war broke out, occasioned by the influence which the Spaniards exercised over the native tribes, and their desire to turn their arms

against their English rivals. In this contest the British lost 800 men ; but they completely subdued the Indians, burnt and destroyed all their towns ; and transported 1,400 of the Apalachians to the territory now denominated Georgia, where they were compelled to live in dependence on Carolina.

It is remarkable, that though the professed object of the noble courtiers who obtained the first grant of the territory of Carolina from Charles the Second, was to "propagate the blessings of religion and civility in a barbarous land," yet for forty years no effort had been made by them to advance this "noble and pious purpose," as it was called ; and so, no doubt, it would have remained for forty years more, if left to their own direction. But about this period, a few missionaries were sent out by the Society then incorporated in England for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts. Up to this period, the only "instruction" that the native Indians had received from the Europeans, was at the hands of a French dancing-master, who settled in the county of Craven, and there acquired a large estate, by teaching the savages to dance and play upon the flute. The only places of worship existing in the colony were three—an Episcopal, a Presbyterian, and a Quaker church or meeting, all within the town of Charleston, but not one throughout all the rest of the province ; and in the northern part of it there was no religious place of worship, and no religious services held, of any kind whatever. It was not until 1705 and 1706, that two religious edifices were erected in the northern province. In 1715 it was divided into nine parishes, each with a parochial vestry and minister ; and the province was then erected

into a separate colony, under the title of North Carolina.

At this period the whole population of Carolina amounted to about 6,000 persons. Printing had not yet been introduced into the colony; the laws were published by oral proclamation, and copies deposited at the courts in writing, which courts were then held in private houses, there being no court-house erected till 1722. Rents and debts were generally paid in hides, tallow, furs, and other productions of the country. Two persons only had suffered death upon the scaffold—one, a Turk for murder; and another, an old woman for witchcraft. At this time there were only a few negro slaves in the country; but the increasing cultivation of rice, which was thought too unhealthy for European constitutions, led to an increased demand for slave-labour, which was easily supplied. Charleston now contained a population of 3,000 inhabitants, a public library, and many handsome edifices; but it was not until 1780 that any printing-press was established in that city.

In the early period of the colony, land was sold at twenty shillings for every 100 acres, and sixpence of quit-rent; in 1694 it was raised to thirty shillings, and in 1711 to forty shillings, with one shilling of quit-rent. The disposition of the occupiers of lands was, however, generally averse to labour, and their tastes extravagant; so that debts were frequent, and insolvent debtors were treated with the utmost indulgence: while the neglect of education, the prevalence of intemperate drinking, and the existence of negro slavery, all contributed their share to retard the general prosperity. This last evil was greatly encouraged by the

conduct of the mother-country; for by the treaty made at the peace of Utrecht in 1713, it was stipulated that the British should enjoy for thirty years the exclusive privilege of supplying the Spanish settlements in South America with negroes; and Queen Anne, who had before given her royal patronage to the slave-trade, engaged that her subjects should, during that period, transport to the Spanish settlements 144,000 of what were called in the language of the trade, "Indian pieces," but which meant negro slaves, in certain specified terms, at the rate of 4,800 negroes a year. This was the contract between His Most Catholic Majesty of Spain, and the Protestant Defender of the Faith, the British Queen; so that her subjects, whose professedly "noble and pious purpose" in founding the colony of Carolina was to "propagate the gospel among barbarous people," were the chief instruments of this odious traffic.

The Indian war of 1715 had greatly drained the revenues and impeded the prosperity of Carolina: and in 1717 the coast of this province was infested with pirates, composed principally of British officers and seamen who had been trained to ferocity and injustice by the legalized piracy of the slave-trade. Many of these were taken and hung at Boston, one of their vessels being captured on the coast of New England, and another wrecked off Cape Cod; while others were captured off the coast of Virginia; and some, who were detected there in the guise of merchants, were executed and hung in chains; while no less than twenty-three persons, the leader of whom was a major in the British army, were taken on the coast of Carolina, and hung at Charleston in 1718.

Among the most prominent of these naval marauders was the celebrated Blackbeard, whose real name was John Heart, and who had been considered, by the rest of his co-operators in this work of villainy, to be so superior to them all in ferocity and wickedness, that they elected him chief of their confederated body, at New Providence in the Bahama Islands ;* but he subsequently preferred to act alone, and chose for his rendezvous the river of Pamlico in North Carolina. In addition to the ferocity of his personal appearance, with his full black beard purposely arranged so as to produce terror in the beholders, with a pair of pistols in holsters, another pair thrown over his shoulders, and lighted matches under his hat, protruding above his ears, he used to perform such fantastic tricks as often to endanger the lives of his associates. On one occasion he undertook to personify a demon, and to show his followers, by anticipation, a picture of hell ! in doing which, he nearly suffocated his crew with the fumes of burning brimstone ; and on another, while seated in his cabin, drunk, he took a pistol in each hand, and, cocking them under the table, blew out the lights, and, crossing his hands, fired right and left at his companions, one of whom was so severely wounded as to be maimed for life. He kept no less than fourteen women who

* Having visited the Bahama Islands about 30 years ago, I remember to have been shown a large overshadowing tree, not far from the port of Nassau, under which Blackbeard and his gang used to hold their councils of war ; and a cave not far from thence, where he used to conceal the spoils. The tree, I believe, has been since blown down ; but the island is full of the traditions of his diabolical and ferocious exploits.

were called his wives, and who were alternately the objects of his sport and the victims of his cruelty.

Yet with such a monster as this, the governor, Eden, and his secretary, Knight, openly communicated—bribed, as every one then believed, by the pirate's gold ; so that he carried on his robberies with impunity. A royal proclamation, issued by George I. having offered pardon to all pirates who would surrender within twelve months, Heart availed himself of this, surrendered to the governor, and took the oath of allegiance ; but squandering his ill-gotten wealth in debauchery and dissipation, he again resumed his old pursuits, and brought into Carolina a French vessel in a state of perfect soundness, but without a crew ; alleged by him to have been found deserted at sea, but which every one else thought had been taken by force, and her officers and crew all put to death.

The Governor Eden, however, admitted the plea as valid, and accordingly the pirate escaped ; but some of the merchants of Carolina, indignant at this indulgence towards so profligate a wretch, communicated the fact to the governor of Virginia, Colonel Spottiswoode, who offered a large reward for the apprehension of the monster ; and Lieutenant Maynard, then in a ship of war in the Chesapeake, collecting a chosen crew in two small vessels, went out to hunt this lion in his den ; when a most sanguinary battle ensued, in which there was great slaughter on both sides. The pirate, in apprehension of defeat, had placed one of his crew with a lighted match over the magazine of gunpowder, with instructions to blow up the ship rather than surrender ; but before this could be accomplished, the

leader of this desperate gang himself fell on the deck, covered with wounds, and faint from loss of blood. The vessel was then taken, and all the survivors of the crew were hung. But though this action gave a great check to piracy on these coasts for a time, it did not entirely extirpate it: for five years after this, no less than twenty-six persons were executed at the same time, for piracy, at Rhode Island.

An important change now took place, in the position of South Carolina. War having been declared between England and Spain, the latter conceived the project of invading the coast of Carolina, and for that purpose fitted out an armament at the Havannah. To meet this, the governor convened the assembly, and asked for funds to put themselves into a position of defence. This the assembly refused, as they were disgusted with the proprietary government. But at the same time, they took advantage of the moment, to raise the standard of revolt against the authority of the proprietary, to elect a new governor, and to proclaim him publicly as governor "in the name of the king." They elected also twelve councillors to assist him, and thus set up an entirely new government, which was subsequently recognized at home, as the proprietaries were declared to have forfeited their charter. As the Spanish armament was defeated in its first attack on New Providence, and nearly all its vessels subsequently wrecked in the Gulf of Florida, all danger was at an end; and the change was hailed by all parties in Carolina as a great blessing.

The new governor, Sir Francis Nicholson, gave a new impetus to many undertakings of public improve-

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ment : he promoted the establishment of schools and the spread of religion ; he concluded treaties of peace with the Indian tribes, the Creeks and Cherokees : and gave great and general satisfaction. Meanwhile, in 1729, the original proprietaries of Carolina, among whom were the Duke of Beaufort, Lord Craven, and the Honourable Doddington Greville, were entirely divested of all authority over the province, and a compensation of 17,000*l.* sterling was awarded to them by act of parliament. The two provinces of North and South Carolina were thus vested in the crown ; and in 1750, Sir Alexander Cumming took seven of the Cherokee chiefs to England, where they affixed their marks to a treaty of amity with Britain. The account of their visit is thus recorded : “ When they were presented to the king, they laid their national emblems of sovereignty at his feet, and by an authentic deed declared themselves his subjects, and acknowledged his dominion over all their countrymen, who, they averred, had fully authorized them to make this recognition. They promised especially to assist the English in the pursuit and recapture of fugitive slaves. They were amazed and confounded at the splendour of the British court ; comparing the king and queen to the sun and moon, the princes to the stars of heaven, and themselves to invisible motes in the rays of a dazzling effulgence of grandeur ; and being loaded with presents, both useful and ornamental, they were reconveyed to their own country.”

In the following year, 1731, a valuable accession of settlers was made, in the persons of 370 Swiss, who were taken out by one of their own countrymen, named Purry, he having obtained from the British

government a large grant of land, and 400*l.* sterling, for every hundred able-bodied labourers that he should land in Carolina; and with these he founded the town of Purrysburg, still known by the same name. But about the same period, misrule, corruption, and bribery in the public departments, existed to a lamentable extent; and the paper money that had been issued in both these provinces had so declined in value, that it was depreciated 700 per cent, which led to all manner of fraud, gambling, and embarrassment.

Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the population still continued to increase. In 1700, it was not more than 6000: in 1723, it was 32,000, of whom there were 18,000 negroes to 14,000 whites. No less than 439 slaves were imported in one year, 1724. In 1730, the negroes amounted to 28,000; and, encouraged by their large numbers, they conceived a plot for massacring all the whites, but it was happily detected and defeated. Such, however, was the cupidity of the slave-merchants in Britain, and the rice-planters in the colony, that in the very face of this danger, they went on importing more negroes from Africa, there being no less than 1500 imported in one year, 1731. In 1734, the colonists themselves publicly adverted to this source of danger, when, in an address from the assembly of Carolina to the king, on the state of the province, they declared that they were "subject to many intestine dangers from the great number of negroes that are now among us." At the same time an ordinance was passed, commanding all the white inhabitants to carry arms with them when they went to the public assemblies and to church!

A strange sect of fanatics, principally among the French refugees, appeared in Carolina about this period, pretending that they were guided in every thing by the impulse of the Divine Spirit, which was superior to all law ; and they lived in open incest and adultery, as they pretended, under the direct guidance of the Deity. Like the Mormons of the present day, now engaged in warfare in the settlements of the west, they defended their doctrines by arms ; but were ultimately overpowered, and some of them were executed for murder. Excessive heats and droughts created almost a famine ; the country was swept by a most furious hurricane, and the yellow fever raged with such malignity, as to hurry multitudes, both of the white and black population, to an early grave. But from all this the colony soon recovered ; and in 1733 it experienced a great influx of capital and population, which, with the planting of the neighbouring colony of Georgia, and the encouragement afforded to their productions at home, relieved it of most of its embarrassments, and caused a great increase of wealth, among the planters especially.

The emigrants that now repaired to Carolina were more numerous than before, and embraced parties from Ireland, Germany, and Holland ; while large numbers of Scotch who had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745, were sentenced to be transported to Carolina and Georgia. The discovery of the indigo plant growing spontaneously in the wild glades of the forest, happening just at this time, furnished abundant occupation for all the newcomers ; while the profit derived from its culture, and the extract of its dye, being immense, the num-

ber of persons engaging in that occupation was so considerable, that in 1767, 300,000lbs of indigo had been shipped from Carolina to England : and at this period there were 330 ships and about 2,000 seamen engaged in the trade with Great Britain.

With all their prosperity, however, there was one danger, always inconvenient, and always increasing ; namely, the large proportion of the negro population to the whites, and the constant dread of their mutiny or revolt. This fear is strikingly displayed in a memorial from the planters of South Carolina, presented to the British government, against a bill for preventing the exportation of rice from any part of the British dominions, in which they say, “ If any stop be put to the exportation of rice from South Carolina, it will not only render the planters unable to pay their debts, but also reduce the government of this province to such distress for want of money, as at this present precarious time may render the whole colony an easy prey to their neighbours, the Indians and Spaniards, and also to those yet more dangerous enemies, their own negroes, who are ready to revolt on the first opportunity, and are eight times as many in number as there are white men capable of bearing arms.” This expression of their alarm was perhaps quickened by the fact that the Spaniards, with a force of 32 ships and 3,000 men, had effected a landing in Georgia ; and among the force was a regiment of free negroes, the black officers of which were dressed in the same uniform as their white comrades, enjoyed the same rank with the Spanish officers, and maintained exactly the same freedom of intercourse with the commander-in-chief, Don Manuel

de Monteano ; as such a sight, to the negroes of South Carolina, if they should reach so far, would be an irresistible incitement to the outbreak of that revolt, for which their masters knew they were ripe.

After an interval of nearly twenty years, we find South Carolina in a more prosperous condition than the once threatening aspect of affairs would have given reason to expect. In consequence of large grants of money from the provincial assembly, to encourage the influx of emigrants, they had come in great numbers from all parts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Germany : so that in 1765 the population had advanced to 130,000, of whom only 90,000 were negroes, thus materially altering the relative proportions between the slaves and the free.

But new sources of discontent began to develop themselves ; and the general dissatisfaction of the American provinces with the rule of the mother-country, was felt as strongly in South Carolina as elsewhere. In 1776, when the revolution had made considerable progress in the north, the Carolinians made a noble and successful defence of the city and port of Charleston against the attack of General Clinton and Sir Peter Parker, at the head of a force of 3,000 men, and a squadron of ships mounting 254 guns. The fort, which the people of Charleston had erected on Sullivan's Island, within their harbour, mounted only 26 guns ; and the whole number of their troops amounted to no more than 375 regulars, and a few militia-men ; but though the assault of the British was maintained for ten hours against this inferior force, it was wholly unavailing ; and three of their ships grounding on a shoal, the expedition was aban-

done, with the slight loss on the side of the besieged of only 10 men killed and 22 wounded, and the fort but little injured, though many thousand balls had been expended on it from the British squadron.

Since the period of the revolution, the most marked circumstance in the history of South Carolina has been the attitude of opposition in which it placed itself to the tariff of the general government; and the threats of separation which it made, and seemed prepared to execute, by an appeal to arms. The origin and end of this celebrated controversy may be thus briefly stated. The people of the free states, including all those of the Union north of the river Potomac, wishing to encourage domestic manufactures, and thus to render themselves independent of importations from England, were powerful enough in Congress to establish by law a scale of high duties on almost all British manufactures, ranging from 20 to 50 per cent., professedly with a view to protect the dearer manufactures of their own country. To this the people of the South very naturally objected, as they would derive no benefit whatever from the establishment of manufactures, since their States were not likely to establish any; while on the other hand, they would be injured to a considerable extent, by being obliged to pay for every manufactured article of which they stood in need, from 20 to 50 per cent. more than the price at which they could be supplied from England if no such tariff existed. These high duties were, therefore, clearly founded in injustice, by taxing the consumers of the whole country, for the exclusive benefit of the few engaged in manufactures.

To this system, therefore, the Southern States

generally objected ; and South Carolina put herself forward as the leader of the opposition, who were called Nullifiers, and their doctrine, Nullification ; because they contended that, by the right of State sovereignty and independent government, which each State reserved to itself, and had not conceded to the general government, they were perfectly justified in nullifying all the acts of Congress founded in such gross injustice to their particular interests. The more violent of the Nullifiers recommended an appeal to arms, to maintain their position ; for, having been threatened by the then existing president, General Jackson, with invasion and coercion by force, to adopt the new system, they had determined to resist force by force, and, if necessary, declare their separation from the Union, and form a confederation of the Southern States, to erect them into a new republic. This state of things lasted for many months, under the greatest excitement, and no less than 30,000 men were said to be under arms in South Carolina alone. At length it was happily terminated by the compromise bill of Mr. Clay, which proposed a gradual biennial reduction of the rates of the tariff till the year 1840, when the duties would be reduced to a very moderate scale, and by which time the native manufactures might be expected to be able to sustain themselves, without much fear of competition with foreign productions.

Since that period, Carolina has enjoyed a comparative calm, and is now, at least, tranquil on the subject ; though there are still causes of discontent, which will be adverted to further on, after a description of the State, in its present condition, shall have been given.

C H A P. III.

Description of the State of South Carolina—Topography, soil, climate, productions—Exports of staple commodities, rice and cotton—Mineral productions of the State—Gold recently found in North and South Carolina—Population, gradual increase from 1700—Proportion of slave population to free—Introduction of cotton manufactories—Internal improvements, canals, and railroads—Government of the State, legislative and executive—Representation in Congress—Judiciary—State of education and religion.

THE State of South Carolina is 188 miles long, from north to south ; and 260 broad, from east to west ; lying between latitude 32° and 35° N., and between longitude 78° and 83° W., and containing an area of 33,000 square miles, or about 20,000,000 of acres. It is bounded on the north and north-east by North Carolina, on the south-east by the Atlantic, and on the west by Georgia.

The sea-coast, which runs nearly N.E. and S.W. is uniformly low, with a number of inlets into creeks and lagoons, affording an inside passage of navigation for boats almost all along the coast, which is here, therefore, broken up into innumerable low ridges and islands. A great portion of these are composed of the sands thrown up by the sea ; the rivers and creeks are, therefore, generally shallow, with bars at their entrance ; and much of the surface is liable to frequent inundation by the tides of the ocean, which here rise five or six feet, as well as by the floods of the rivers after heavy rains.

In the interior, beyond this level maritime tract, the land rises by a gentle slope, is drier, and more healthy. • Beyond this, the country becomes hilly, till it verges into the mountainous, as it ap-

proaches the great Apalachian chain, or Blue Ridge, as it is sometimes called, where the fertility of the soil and salubrity of the climate are equal to that of any part of the continent. It is here that the rivers, rising from opposite sides of this ridge, flow in opposite directions in their course; the Tennessee, for instance, flowing south-west, through the State to which it gives its name; and the Savannah flowing south-east, by the city so called, which stands on its banks near the sea.

There are no less than six classes or kinds of soil in this territory: the first of these is the tide swamp, near the sea; the second is the inland swamp, above the reach of the tide-water range; the third is the high-river swamp; the fourth is the salt marsh; the fifth is the hickory and oak high land; and the sixth is the pine barren. In the first two classes, rice and hemp are chiefly cultivated, as these require wet lands for their growth. In the third, hemp, corn, and indigo, thrive best. The fourth, the salt marshes, are not much used. The fifth grows corn, indigo, and cotton. The sixth is the least fertile of all, and consequently is not much cultivated. In point of healthiness, the high lands are the most salubrious, and the low lands the least so. In the first three classes, the miasma of the summer is so fatal to European and American constitutions, that all the white planters quit their homes early in May, and do not return again till October, leaving their plantations during that time to the care of an overseer, and the negro slaves. If the overseer be a white man, he is almost sure to be attacked with fever and ague during the autumn; and though he may survive the attack, every repetition of it makes great

havoc on his frame, and ultimately carries him off. The high lands are dry and healthy, and the residents there may remain at home all the year round.

The climate, as far as temperature is concerned, is more agreeable than in most other parts of the United States, having no greater heat than Maine and Massachussetts in summer, and being free from their intense colds in winter. In Charleston, for seven years, the thermometer was not known to rise above 93° or fall below 17° above zero; while in Boston it was during the last summer above 100°, and in the present winter was at 8° below zero. Frost very rarely occurs on the low lands, nor ever lasts more than a day or two; and it is mentioned as a very unusual circumstance, which alarmed many of the people of the country, that snow once remained on the ground for a period of three days. The most variable period of the year is February; the most sultry is August; and the greatest variation of temperature ever experienced in any one day was 46°. In the highlands and mountains, towards the western boundary of the State, the frosts are sometimes severe, and snow remains for weeks in succession.

Among the articles of culture, fruits abound, and pears, pomegranates, melons, oranges, and pine-apples, are produced in great perfection; while apples, peaches, nectarines, apricots, figs, olives, and almonds, are also grown in various parts of the country. Grain is not much cultivated, at least in wheat, barley, or oats, for all these are imported from the north, and their growth is neglected for the more profitable cultivation of rice and cotton, which form the staple productions of the State. The introduction of rice by a ship from the East Indies, and the

discovery of the indigo plant growing wild in the woods, have been already mentioned. These constituted, with tobacco, the earliest articles of produce, until about 1795, when cotton began to be raised; and since that period rice and cotton have formed the chief articles of growth and export from the State. The following tabular view from the most recent official documents up to January 25, 1839, will shew its extent :—

EXPORTS OF COTTON AND RICE, FROM THE PORT OF CHARLESTON.

Exported to	From October 1, 1838, to January 25, 1839.			From October 1, 1837, to January 26, 1838.		
	Sea Island.	Upland.	Rice.	Sea Island.	Upland.	Rice.
Liverpool,	664	21026	2799	1309	42932	2550½
Scotland,	97	1949	9	13	6068	3
Other British ports, ...		1084	2545½		1468	2394½
Total to Great Britain,	761	24059	5352½	1322	50468	4948
Havre,	357	15895	1111½	367	20172	964½
Marseilles,		1613			1188	224
Other French ports, ...		1749	2902½		43	447
Total to France,	357	19254	4014	367	21403	1635½
Holland,		291	3755		4524	3642
Germany,		138	1251		1052	347
North of Europe,		1031	718½		583	257
Total North of Europe,		1460	5724½		6161	4246
South of Europe,					252	49
West Indies, &c.			6650		840	9092
Total to Foreign ports,	1118	44776	21742	1689	79124	19970½
Boston,		7036	2373	22	9367	2933½
Rhode Island, &c.	57	3533	187	41	1952	191
New York,	107	13059	3621½		11810	4505
Philadelphia,		2853	510		1308	405
Baltimore and Norfolk,		1174	1003		787	1168½
New Orleans, &c.			4359½			3674½
Other U. S. ports,			115½			300½
Total Coastwise,	164	27600	12169½	63	25215	13178
Grand Total,	1282	72136	33911½	1752	104339	31448½

By this table it will be seen that the amount of cotton exported is less, and the quantity of rice exported rather more, in the last quarter of the last year, than in the corresponding period of the preceding; but the difference is not material in either; and the whole export of the year 1838 may be taken to be about 250,000 bales of cotton, and 100,000 tierces of rice. The following table, drawn from the same official documents, and up to the same date, will show the comparative exports of cotton from the different ports of the United States:

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF EXPORTS OF COTTON FROM THE UNITED STATES, COMMENCING OCT. 1, 1838.

Exports from	1838-39.			1837-38.		
	Great Britain.	France.	Other Ports.	Great Britain.	France.	Other Ports.
New Orleans, Jan. 19,	41512	39448	3039	103272	37741	2728
Mobile, Jan. 19,	13073	7716		10204	8893	800
Savannah, Jan. 24, ... }	31381	7614	1570	60734	8397	
Do. Sea Island, }	138	51		617	32	
Charleston, Jan. 25, }	24059	19257	1460	50468	21403	7253
Do. Sea Island, }	761	357		1237	367	
Virginia, Jan. 1,	1050		104	4309	3000	200
New York, Jan. 16, ...	6594	8349	544	15308	3620	3461
Other Ports, Jan. 1, ...	1725	134		10200		60
Grand Total, ...	125293	82926	6717	256349	88453	14502

Coastwise Exports from the Southern to the Northern ports, from 1st of October, 1838, to dates, 145,938 bales.

Coastwise Exports from the Southern to the Northern ports, from 1st of October, 1837, to dates, 111,392 bales.

Of the two descriptions of cotton, the Sea Island, which, as will be seen by the first table, is the smallest in quantity, is produced from a black seed, is reared near the sea-coast with great care, and cleaned at great expense; and it is sold in the market here at from 50 to 75 cents, or from 2s. to 3s. sterling per

pound ; while the Upland cotton is produced from a white seed, at less cost, and cleaned with less care, and this sells at from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 15 cents, or from 6d. to $7\frac{1}{2}$ d. per pound, the proportion of the first being only as 1 to 72 in quantity grown, to the last ; and the greatest profit is said to be made by the cultivation of the coarser kind.

Of mineral productions there are, in various parts of the State, lead and iron ore, potter's clay, fuller's earth, talc, marble, and limestone ; with several ochereous earths used in the manufacture of painters' colours. Gold, also, is produced in this region ; but this precious metal abounds most in North Carolina, where there are at present not less than 30,000 persons employed in the gold district, in the mines under working, and in digging for the discovery of new veins. It is found generally mixed with the soil, from the smallest particles up to pieces of one or two pounds weight, valued from 100 to 1,000 dollars ; and one piece was dug up in Cabarras county, worth about 8,000 dollars, or 1,600*l.* sterling. The present product of the gold-mines is said to be about 100,000 dollars per week, or a million sterling per annum. It is worthy of remark, that in the opening of new mines, evidences are found of their having been previously worked, and that by the native Indians ; as crucibles and mining instruments have from time to time been discovered under circumstances, and in situations, which make it impossible to attribute them to even the earliest of the European adventurers.

The population of South Carolina has been progressively on the increase, but with nothing like the

rapidity of the Northern States, as will be seen by the following statement :—

In 1701 it was	7,000	In 1800 it was	345,591
1749 “	30,000	1810 “	415,115
1750 “	64,000	1820 “	502,714
1765 “	130,000	1830 “	581,458
1790 “	249,073		

The increase in the slave population was, however, more rapid than that among the white ; for their numbers stand thus :—

In 1765 it was	90,000	In 1810 it was	196,365
1790 “	107,094	1820 “	258,475
1800 “	146,151	1830 “	315,365

So that in 1830 the whole population comprehended 581,458, of whom only 257,878 were whites, and 315,365 slaves, the remainder being 7,215 free people of colour, making the whole coloured population greatly in excess at the last census. The general impression here is, that the proportions of the excess has rather increased than diminished since that period ; so that the evil of this disproportion is continually on the advance.

Some large mills, for the spinning of cotton yarn, have been established of late years in South Carolina, and these are said to yield a good profit. They are worked by machinery made at West Point, on the Hudson river, turned by water-power, and directed partly by free and partly by slave labour ; the more expert of the latter being found to be the only persons fit for such employment among their race. Some of the yarn is exported to the north ; and some is

woven into coarse clothes adapted for negro apparel, in which it is chiefly consumed.

The internal improvements of the State are advancing, though slowly in comparison with those of the northern sections of the Union. A canal, extending 22 miles from the Santee to the Cooper river, was completed in 1802, the length of which was 22 miles, at a cost of 650,000 dollars. Several smaller canals and streams extending beyond this, continue the water navigation to Columbia, the capital of the State, a distance of about 130 miles directly inland from Charleston. A railroad from Charleston to Hamburg, a small town immediately opposite to Augusta, on the Savannah river, has also been completed for 135 miles, at a cost of about 800,000 dollars ; and a railroad from Charleston to Columbia is in progress, and a large portion of it completed.

The government of South Carolina is conducted at the capital, Columbia, which is nearly in the centre of the State, where the legislature assemble once in each year. Its executive consists of a Governor, at a salary of 3,500 dollars per annum, a Secretary of State, and seven or eight other functionaries, at salaries of from 1,500 to 2,000 dollars per annum each ; and a House of Assembly and a Senate form the two legislative chambers. The State is represented in the general legislature at Washington, by nine members of Congress sent by general election of the citizens to the House of Representatives, and two Senators elected by the Legislature of the State.

The Judiciary consists of four Chancellors in Equity, at 3,000 dollars per annum, who perform

the duty of Circuit Judges, and hold Equity Courts at different points of the State at fixed periods ; and seven Judges of the General Sessions and Common Pleas, at the same salaries, who perform similar duties in the administration of the statute and common law, for civil and criminal cases. Appeal Courts are held also at Charleston and Columbia : and a Court for the correction of errors, composed of all the Judges of Law and Equity, is held to consider all questions on which the Appeal Courts may be divided in opinion. The Judges are all appointed for life.

Education is not neglected in this State ; for besides the College at Columbia, and the South Carolina College at Charleston, each containing a large number of students, schools are very numerous, and the State Legislature appropriates the sum of 40,000 dollars annually for the support of free schools, of which there were in the last year about 920, with from 9,000 to 10,000 scholars.

Of the various sects of religion in the State, the Methodists have the greatest number of church members, upwards of 30,000, though their ministers do not exceed 60. The Baptists have the greatest number of churches and ministers, 168 of the former and 142 of the latter, with about 15,000 communicants. The Presbyterians have 82 churches, 58 ministers, and about 15,000 communicants ; and the Episcopalians have 28 churches, and 36 ministers ; while Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and Universalists, have each a few congregations only.

Such is the present condition, as nearly as it can be ascertained, of the State of South Carolina.

CHAP. IV.

Description of the city of Charleston—Topography, aspect, Public buildings, churches—Benevolent and charitable institutions—Commerce, shipping, and seamen—Banks and insurance companies—Institutions for education, colleges, schools—Literary and political journals, reviews, newspapers—Views of Southern writers on the subject of slavery—Advantages derived from breeding slaves—Examples of capacity for business and learning in Negroes—Invincible prejudices of Southern people on this subject.

THE city of Charleston is most advantageously situated for commerce with the interior, and communication with the sea; having, in this respect, a striking resemblance to the position of New York; for in the same manner as that city is seated on a peninsula, washed on the east by the East river, on the west by the Hudson, and on the south by the sea, so Charleston is seated on a projection of land, almost insular, and joined, like Boston, by a narrow isthmus, called "The Neck," to the main land, having the Ashley river to wash its sides on the west, the Cooper river to fringe it on the east, and its southern extremity bathed by the junction of these two streams in their passage to the sea; there being, as at New York, a point at this junction, called "The Battery," forming an agreeable promenade.

The city, extending from this point inland, or upward, occupies an area of about a mile and three quarters in length, from north to south, and an



average breadth of about a mile and a quarter, from river to river, east to west. This area being a perfect level, enabled the founders of the city to lay out its plan with tolerable regularity ; the streets, therefore run generally, but not exactly, north and south, and east and west, the latter crossing the peninsula from river to river ; the wharfs for the shipping, like those in New York, being chiefly ranged along the eastern edge of the town. The streets are generally from 50 to 80 feet in breadth. They were, up to a very recent period, lined on each side with trees, like those of Philadelphia ; but within the last two years, these have been removed ; the public authorities of the city entertaining an opinion that their roots injured the pavements, so as to cause great expense for their repair, and that the decayed vegetable matter, occasioned by the falling leaves in autumn, was unfavourable to health. The centres of the streets are macadamized, and the side pavements are of brick. The streets are lighted with oil lamps, and are kept in good order.

A very recent and destructive fire, happening in the summer of the year 1838, destroyed nearly half the town. Its ravages were confined chiefly to the upper part of the city, where the dwellings were principally of wood, though many fine brick buildings were destroyed at the same time ; and the distress created by this calamity was general. A very liberal subscription was raised in the cities of the North, for the relief of the sufferers, to which the Bank of the United States at Philadelphia alone contributed 20,000 dollars ; and the Legislature of the State advanced large sums by way of loan to

individuals desiring to rebuild, on the security of their ground and premises, so that the work of restoration is now going on rapidly. As the State Legislature has passed a law prohibiting the future erection of wooden buildings, all the new edifices are to be built of brick, by which not only the beauty of the city will be much increased, but the safety of life and property be much greater than formerly. Here, as in the great fire at New York, most of the buildings were insured; but the excess of loss sustained, caused the bankruptcy of the Insurance offices, and, therefore, left the sufferers without remedy.* What added to the distress of this visitation was, that it was accompanied by a most fatal sickness, occasioned, it is thought, by the exposure of so many cellars, pools, cisterns, and drains, to the burning sun, by the destruction of the buildings, and uncovering of the soil by which they were before shaded; and this sickness, far more virulent than their ordinary fevers, carried off large numbers of the native inhabitants as well as strangers.

The general aspect of the city is far inferior to that of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore; nor has it the solidity and thriving appearance of Albany, Utica, Rochester, or Buffalo, or the beauty and elegance of Geneva, Canandaigua, or New Bedford. It more resembles a West Indian than an American city—from the number of wooden buildings painted white, the large verandas and porticoes

* Charleston was burnt down in 1740, when 300 of the best houses were consumed, and £200,000 worth of property destroyed. On this occasion the British parliament granted £20,000 for relief.

of the more stately mansions of brick, and the universal prevalence of broad verandas, green Venetian blinds, and other provisions to secure coolness and shade. The shops have none of the exterior elegance or display, which characterizes those of the Broadway, in New York, or Chesnut-street, in Philadelphia; but are literally stores, like those in Pearl-street and Pine-street, in the first-named city.

Among the public buildings, the Exchange, the City Hall, the Court House, and the State offices, may be mentioned as the most prominent. The two first were built while Charleston was an English colony; and it is the opinion of the residents here, in which strangers would join them, that there have been no public edifices erected since the revolution, so good as those constructed before. Both the buildings named are as fine as any of the kind in the United States, and both are admirably adapted to the purposes for which they were erected. The first is of stone, the second of brick, with an ornamented front of Ionic pilasters and pediment, and the exterior and interior of each is in perfect harmony and keeping, blending, in a very happy manner, solidity, elegance, and utility. The Court House and the State offices, which are both near the City Hall, one built of stone, in a chaste style of architecture; while the latter is made fire-proof, by the exclusion of all wood, and the use of plates of copper for the roofing.

Of churches, there are not less than 23, including 6 Episcopal, 3 Presbyterian, 1 Baptist, 4 Methodist, 2 Catholic, 1 Unitarian, 4 Independent, 1 Quakers' Meeting, and 1 Synagogue. Two of the Episcopalian churches, St. Philip's and St. Michael's, were built

before the revolution ; the first was so much injured by the late fire, as to require to be almost entirely rebuilt. The second is the largest church, and has the tallest steeple (165 feet) in the city. In its interior it is so like an old English church in every particular, that it is difficult, when hearing the Episcopal service read in it, and looking round on the congregation, to imagine one's self anywhere but in England. The high pews, dark panelling, like well-polished oak or old mahogany, the altar with its tablets of the Commandments and the Creed in gold letters on a black ground, the antique pulpit, with its suspended sounding-board, deep-crimson velvet cushions, and the mural monuments of persons buried nearly a century ago—are all so thoroughly English, that, but for the substitution of the “President and the Congress,” in the public prayers, instead of “Her Majesty and the High Court of Parliament,” there was nothing here to remind one of America.

My lectures were given in the First Presbyterian church, a very handsome building, comfortably accommodating upwards of a thousand auditors, for more than that number regularly attended them. The Second Presbyterian church is still larger, but circular, of 90 feet diameter, surmounted by a handsome spire. The other churches are smaller ; but all neatly fitted, commodious, and comfortable.

There are several excellent institutions of a benevolent and charitable nature in Charleston, of which the principal is the Orphan Asylum, supported partly by the city funds, and partly by legacies, donations, and private subscriptions. It contains frequently from 150 to 200 orphans, for whose present state and future condition it provides judiciously

and liberally. There is also a good general Hospital, and an Almshouse for the sick and the needy ; these last being more numerous here than in the northern sections of America, because, though wages are high, there are not so many resources of employment for those who may require it, and especially for the foreign emigrants who find their way here. The poor are supported at the expense of the inhabitants of the districts from whence they come, or in which they are found. In the last year, before the great fire already described, the number of paupers in the poor-house were 373, of whom 171 were foreigners : and the number of persons to whom rations were granted as out-door pensioners during the same year, were 180, of whom 20 were foreigners. Since the fire, the number of both classes is much greater, but this is, of course, no criterion of the general state of things.

There are three societies of a benevolent nature ; one called the South Carolina Society, another the St. Andrew's Society, and another the Hebrew Society. To the first, all persons born or living in South Carolina are eligible to become annual subscribers, and after paying a fixed sum per annum for ten years, their representatives are entitled, to their death, to receive a proportionate sum in principal, or a corresponding annuity for life: this association is very liberally supported, and is consequently rich. The second is an institution confined entirely to natives of Scotland, or their descendants. It unites the double purpose of providing, by this sort of mutual insurance, for the members of each other's families, and of serving to keep alive the national feeling in favour of the father-land, by four festive

meetings during the year, and a grand anniversary on St. Andrew's day. The Scotch being numerous here, and including among their body some of the most opulent merchants, they have erected a noble building, St. Andrew's Hall, with a spacious saloon for public occasions, and ample accommodation for offices, housekeeper, and servants, Among the relics of the old country and the olden time, I was shown the antlers of some Highland deer ; horns or mulls for snuff ; and Highland dresses, kilts, and bonnets, which are worn on great festivals ; nor did I ever hear more thorough Scotch accent than in the conversation of members of this society who had been in Charleston twenty and thirty years, but who still spoke as if they had never quitted their native hills. The Hebrew Society is confined entirely to the Jews, who are here both numerous and wealthy, and who have a Synagogue, and a charitable association most liberally supported, though confined of course to people of their own faith and nation. There is also a New England Society, incorporated in 1820, for the relief of persons belonging to the New England States. They have upwards of 100 members, all New Englanders, and they celebrate the anniversary of the " Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on the Rock at Plymouth," by festivities and an oration. An Hibernian Society, for the relief of the destitute Irish, has also been recently formed, and a hall is about to be built for their accommodation.

The commerce of Charleston is greater than that of any port between New York and New Orleans, exceeding that of Philadelphia or Baltimore. The extent of its shipments in the two great staples of

rice and cotton has been given in the description of the State ; but it may here be added, that the ships actually belonging to the port of Charleston, including large and small, amount to nearly 20,000 tons ; while not less than 180,000 tons, exclusive of coasters, enter the harbour in the course of the year. It is one of the ports of 'the United States' that has provided a "Sailors' Home" or Temperance Boarding House, with a church attached to it, for its seamen only. It is presided over by a young minister of the gospel, who was himself once a sailor, and who evinces the most disinterested zeal in the discharge of its duties. Regular lines of packets sail from hence to the principal ports of America and the West Indies ; and steam-vessels go to all the ports of the west, and up the rivers into the interior. Vessels from London, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Havre, are almost always found in the harbour of Charleston ; and of late years there has been a growing desire on the part of the merchants to make the trade between Europe and South Carolina much more direct, instead of going, as at present, by the circuitous, and as they think less profitable channels, of New York, and the ports of the north.

There are eight Banks, all conducting their business on a large scale ; five Insurance Companies ; and a Chamber of Commerce, for guarding the interests of trade ; and nowhere does there appear to be a more gentlemanly and liberal mode of conducting business of every kind than here, mixed with great civility and politeness, and a freedom from that eagerness of gain which is so characteristic of the north.

The Institutions for education are extensive in number, and excellent in character, in the city of Charleston. Besides the College for classical instruction, and the Medical college for professional education, there are no less than 80 schools, for the younger portion of the community, including boarding, day, and free schools, and the number of pupils in the whole are not less than 2,000. I learnt, from persons connected with the business of education, that it was formerly the custom for the more wealthy families to send their children to the Universities of the north, especially to Providence and Boston, for education ; but that latterly this practice had decreased, and given place to the much more general one of educating them in Charleston or Columbia, within the State. On inquiring the cause of this change, the reason assigned was this : that the students returning from the north so often came home "*tainted* with Abolitionism," (that was the exact phrase used) and with such a "*distaste for their domestic institutions,*" meaning slavery, (that being the term usually substituted for this disagreeable word), that it was thought dangerous to the welfare of the country any longer to continue the practice of sending their children to the north, where they imbibed such dangerous doctrines as Abolitionism, and were thus rendered averse to the "*domestic institutions*" of the south.

The literary productions of Charleston have been characterized by great ability, but from the want of proper support they have not been able to sustain themselves, and have accordingly, after a short existence, been discontinued. The Southern Review was one of these, and the Southern Literary Journal

another : the pages of both bear witness to the talents and learning of the editors and their contributors ; but neither of them had a sufficient circulation to cover their expenses. At present Charleston has a weekly periodical, entitled "The Southern Rose," edited by Mrs. Caroline Gilman, and, as a work of professedly light literature, it exhibits a happy union of information and good taste. There are three daily newspapers, two morning and one evening, all advocating the democratic principles of the revolution. The leading morning paper, the *Courier*, is conducted with great ability, by Mr. Yeadon, a barrister of the city ; and the evening paper, the *Patriot*, is edited by Mr. Cadoza, a Jew ; but all three are characterized by a more gentlemanly and courteous tone towards each other, than rival or friendly papers are in the north ; and I did not see so much of vituperation of men and measures, in all the Charleston papers for three weeks, as one may sometimes see in a single paper of Boston and New York in as many days. Besides these, there are three religious newspapers, the *Methodist*, the *Presbyterian*, and the *Roman Catholic*, all published weekly, each adapting its information to the peculiar views of the sect for which it is issued ; and the *Southern Agriculturist*, a work devoted exclusively to objects connected with the cultivation of the soil.

Among all these publications, whether quarterly, monthly, weekly, or daily, there is not one that ever ventures to speak of slavery as an institution to be condemned, or even regretted. They are all either indulgent towards, or openly advocates of, this state of bondage ; and the higher the rank or character

of the publication, the more boldly it speaks out on this subject, and the more popular it becomes in the south by so speaking. A few examples of this from one of the ablest of the works referred to, "The Southern Literary Journal," may be offered in confirmation of this view.

In the first volume for 1835, (p. 127), an extract of a letter is given from an anti-abolitionist at the north, in which he says, "I believe that facts will warrant the assertion, that the condition of the slave population in the aggregate is better than that of the free black, who assumes all the cares and responsibilities of self-support." And after denouncing, as the greatest of evils, all attempts to promote the abolition of slavery, he thus describes its inevitable consequences, if accomplished—"Your fair land, which now supports a numerous and *happy* population (it is thus he speaks of the slaves), would become the wretched abode of the desperate and depraved." And then he exclaims—"What Christian, what philanthropist, would aid in such a work! Every step the abolitionist would take, to dissolve abruptly the relations of master and slave, would be *evil* in its progress, and *evil* in its results. Is any man called upon, on *Christian* principles, to be a minister of *evil*? Surely, no!" Puerile as such a method of arguing this question must appear to most persons, first prophesying consequences, then assuming qualities, and lastly begging the whole question; yet the editor of the Southern Journal says, of this communication—"These views reflect credit both upon the *head* and the *heart* of the writer—are philanthropic, christian, and politic." It is thus that compliments

and eulogies are exchanged between those who uphold this system ; and who, if the weakest and most superficial remarks in favour of slavery were to be put forth in any shape, and from any quarter, would praise them in the loftiest terms.

The concluding passage, however, of the editor's remarks on this communication, exhibits an attachment to slavery, which no purchase-money, in the shape of compensation, could lessen ; for in reference to the supposed willingness of the north to give an *equivalent* to the planters of the south, for the purchase of their negroes' freedom, as was done by the British towards the proprietors of slaves in our West India islands, he says—" On the subject of an *equivalent*, however, to be offered by the citizens of the north for our slaves, we undertake to say that South Carolina, at least, would not, *for all the wealth that is garnered up in the coffers of the New England States*, become a party to a bargain so ruinous and degrading. *The citizens of the south stand upon their rights!* They are able to protect their domestic institutions (this is the mild phrase under which slavery is usually described in the Southern writings) by the shield of the constitution, and could easily show, *if they would condescend to do it*, that slavery has been not only theoretically, but practically recognized as lawful, in every country, under every government, and by every religion. Under these circumstances, *they would scorn to barter away their dearest rights for money.* There is no equivalent that *can* be offered them, which they would think it their duty to accept."

It might be thought unnecessary to go further than

this, to show the tenacity with which the Southerners cling to their “domestic institutions,” and at what hazards they are ready to uphold and defend them. But a few references to other authorities may be given, to show how extensively these sentiments are diffused. Dr. Cooper, the president of Columbia College, in the capital of South Carolina, says, in an article on slavery in the same volume, p. 188—“I do not know a more bold, a more impudent, a more unprincipled, unblushing falsehood, than to say that *slavery is inconsistent with the laws of God*, if the Bible be assumed as the repository of those laws. I do not wish to go over the ground again, already trodden for the hundredth time; but I claim the right of appealing to your readers who read the Bible, whether, from the time of Abraham to the time of the Apostle Paul, there be not the most ample proof of domestic slavery being ordained, practised, and approved by the Jews in the Old, and by the Christians in the New Testament, without *one* contradictory or condemnatory passage or precept?” While such are the sentiments of learned heads of colleges in the south, it is not to be wondered at, that those who conceive their *interests* involved in the maintenance of such views generally, should be afraid to send their children to be educated in the north, as there at least such doctrines are not likely to be taught.

In the same volume (p. 207) is a brief enumeration of the recent publications on the slave question, which the editor has received for review; and on these, including nine different works by different authors, he has the following remarks: “The Amena-

bility of Northern Incendiaries, as well to Northern as to Southern Laws,' is the title of a pamphlet by the senior editor of the Charleston Courier, a gentleman well known in our community as a sound constitutional lawyer, and a successful advocate. The right of South Carolina to demand of the Northern States the *persons* of the incendiaries, for the purpose of punishment, he places on the broad and recognized principles of the law of nations applicable to such cases; the only ground, in law, upon which, in our opinion, the right can be maintained." Another of the works reviewed is entitled, 'An Appeal to the *good* sense of a *great* people; the tribunal that must finally settle this vexed question;' on which the editor says, "that is, as *we* understand it, the People of the *South*; for an appeal to any *other*, we should esteem worse than idle." 'Remarks on Slavery, by a Citizen of Georgia,' is described as "an able and successful attempt to prove that slavery is upheld and countenanced by the writers of the Old and New Testaments;" and another work, entitled 'Two Sermons on the subject of Slavery, by Simon Dogget,' is said to "sustain ably the scriptural argument in *favour* of slavery, from the classical pen of a venerable clergyman of Massachusetts, who passed the last winter among us (in the South)."

In an article entitled 'A Visit to Sir Roger de Coverley's Plantation,' purporting to give a faithful picture of a southern estate, is found the following remarkable passage. After describing the little dwellings of the negroes, which were all whitewashed, the owner of the plantation, represented under the name of Sir Roger de Coverley, thus explains the

reason of this:—he says, “I have these houses whitewashed every spring; this contributes not only to their good appearance, but to the health of their inmates. Cleanliness is indispensable to health, and *makes the slave prolific*. I have, at this time, a hundred and fifty of these people; and their *annual increase* may be estimated as *adding as much to my income* as arises from all other sources.” No wonder, therefore, that Sir Roger should feel a little uneasy at the progress of Abolitionism, as being likely to disturb this *annual increase to his income* from the prolific qualities of his slaves. “This endearing relation,” he continues, “with feelings of virtuous indignation apparent on his countenance,” (such is the language of the narrator,) “equally *beneficial* to both bond and free, is the one which ignorant, envious, self-styled philanthropists, have pronounced to be tyrannical and unjust. How little do these meddlers know of the actual state of things which they so vehemently condemn! You see around you, Sir, only healthy, laughing, contented beings, of either sex, all of them well clad, all of them engaged in wholesome and moderate labour, without which the mere name of freedom, even if they possessed it, would be a curse: you see them comfortably provided for; all their reasonable wants daily and duly supplied; they are at no expense for the support of their families; they incur no debts; they pay no fines; they fear no bailiff; they are free from corroding cares; they are not harassed by the restless desire of amassing fortunes, which a breath of wind may dissipate; they are remote from the vexatious arena of political life—the mad strife for office and honour. By day they labour cheer-

fully ; at night their sleep is sweet, and they care not for the morrow." To all which, Mr. Addison, another of the conversational party, is made to reply as follows :—"I think that the pseudo-philanthropists to whom you refer, have done you and the cause of truth no little injustice. What more does man really require, than a sufficiency to supply all his natural wants? Society, it is true, places him in an artificial position, and extends his desires indefinitely, but is it certain that this change renders him a happier being? I doubt it. I am not certain that the slave, all things considered, is not more independent of events than his master—that he is not, in fact, a *freer* being."

The last example I shall quote will be from an article entitled 'Reflections elicited by Judge Harper's Anniversary Oration, delivered before the South Carolina Society for the Advancement of Learning, December 9, 1838.' The judge, it appears, in this address, invited the attention of the members of this Society especially to the subject of Domestic Slavery, or, in the language of the editor, one of the "cherished institutions" of the South; and the learned orator thus speaks of it himself :—"I believe that no one who has the slightest acquaintance with the subject, on whom argument would not be wasted, imagines it to be possible that slavery should cease to exist among us in our day, or for *generations* to come. Our proudest and most deeply-cherished feelings—which others, if they will, may call prejudices—our most essential interests—our humanity and consideration for the slaves themselves—nay, almost physical impossibility, forbid that this should be done by *our own*

act ; and, thank God ! we, the slave-holding communities of the South, are too strong, and on this subject too united, to admit the thought that it can be effected by external force. As to the aid which external force may derive from insurrection, as far as relates to the final success of such an attempt, we do not admit it into our thoughts : no—if that event is ever to be brought about, it must be by a force superior to that of all the people and potentates of the earth.”

When such influential persons as editors of quarterly journals and daily newspapers, presidents of colleges, and judges on the bench, maintain and propagate such views as these, it is certainly not to be wondered at that the youths of Carolina, educated at home, and hearing scarcely any other views of slavery expressed, but such as I have quoted, should grow up in the belief that they are just and sound, and receive them as the maxims of wisdom from the lips and pens which are guided by age and experience. A stranger, not so brought up and imbued with those “proudest and most deeply-cherished feelings, which others, if they will, may call prejudices,” may be forgiven, however, for saying, that as far as his senses can inform him, he does not recognize the fidelity of the picture which these writers give of the condition of the slaves of South Carolina. Instead of seeing only “healthy, laughing, contented beings of either sex,” I confess I have never witnessed, in any population of the earth, less indications of laughter and content than on the countenances of the slaves met with at every hour of the day ; their general expression being that of great gravity and gloomy

discontent ; and a pretty strong evidence of their not being quite so “happy and contented” as is described, may be found in these facts ;—that every precaution is taken to prevent an insurrection, by a large military and police establishment, which exercises great vigilance by day and by night ; that guard-houses, bells, and drums, warn the coloured person, whether slave or free, not to be found out of his dwelling after nine o’clock ;—and that their meeting in greater numbers than a dozen, even for religious purposes, without the presence of a white man, is strictly prohibited and enforced. Instead of “all of them being well clad,” a very large number have ragged, and nearly all dirty clothes ; and on some plantations, a single suit of a woollen jacket and trousers, without a shirt, is the whole apparel allowed for a year ! Instead of “all being well fed,” the scanty measure of Indian corn is barely sufficient for subsistence ; rice is in many instances thought too costly for them ; salt is either stinted or withheld ; and as to animal food, it is rarely given at all, except on very particular occasions. Instead of “wholesome and moderate labour,” the employment of many is, in the marshy lands, so fatal to life, that no Europeans can reside there through the summer, and even the negroes suffer much from agues and fevers ; while their labour is often excessive, both in the length of time it endures and the toil it requires.

It is quite true, as the same writer says, that “they are at no expense to maintain their families ;” but it should be added, that they give all their labour, by which alone they could do this, to their masters, and thus their families are deprived of whatever that labour,

if fairly paid for, could provide them beyond bare subsistence. It is also true, that "they incur no debts;" but neither do they ever accumulate a surplus; "they pay no fines," because their penalties are taken from them in stripes; "they fear no bailiffs," but they have often reason to dread the whip of the overseer; "they are not harassed by the restless desire of amassing fortunes," which cuts them off from all the pleasures of advancement in the world by their own industry; and if "their labour is cheerful by day, and their sleep sweet by night," they are, nevertheless, continually in the habit of running away, most foolishly, of course, from all this happiness and contentment; just as sailors desert from ships of war into which they have been impressed, and as debtors and criminals escape from the prisons in which they are confined against their will. This love of freedom is *known* to be so strong, even among these "happy and contented beings," that nothing is more common than to see, in the daily newspapers, rewards offered for the apprehension of runaways, with the occasional offer of "freedom" to those who may give information of robberies and conspiracies, as the highest reward that can be offered, to tempt slaves to furnish the information required.

All these things make an impression on the mind of a stranger; and, without doubting for a moment that there are many kind masters and mistresses, who do much to make the condition of their slaves easy and tolerable, it cannot but be evident to him, that the great mass of them are not treated so well as many of the brute creation; and that the dogs and horses of their masters are better fed, have less

labour, less punishment, and quite as much of intellectual culture and enjoyment as the slave: for if the one has not the capacity to learn, the other is strictly forbidden to acquire the power to read. This shutting up of all the avenues to knowledge in the slaves, is, no doubt, done with a view to keep them in a state of greater dependence and subordination; but it is defended on the ground of their utter unfitness for mental improvements, and an entire deficiency of a capacity for education. And yet, according to good authorities, several Catholic bishops have been negroes, one of whom was canonized as a saint at Rome; and a negro was ordained as a priest of the Episcopal Church of England, by Bishop Keppell, at Exeter, in 1765. Instances of hundreds of intelligent and educated free negroes are found in the north; Hayti is governed entirely by educated blacks; and even at the colony of Liberia, founded chiefly by the slaveholders of America themselves, a public newspaper is written and printed by negroes, schools are conducted, and public worship is carried on, as well as in any part of the Union. The pretence of the incapacity of the negro race to receive instruction, must, therefore, be known to many who use it, to be a false one.

The great plea for the continuance of slavery, in this quarter, is, however, that the slaves are wholly unable to maintain and protect themselves, and that it is pure humanity towards the race to keep them in this condition. And yet, so well able are the greatest number of negroes to earn their own subsistence, and conduct their own affairs, that many of them are hired out by their masters to various persons needing

their labour ; by which they get so much more than is necessary for their own support, that they maintain themselves out of their wages first, and then hand over the surplus, often amounting to half their earnings, to their masters, as interest or profit on the capital laid out in their purchase. One master mentioned to me his having given 1500 dollars, or £300 sterling for a slave ; and when I asked why he paid so large a sum for him, he answered, that the man was fully worth it, because he could earn a handsome income. But when I followed up this question by asking whether the income made by the slave's labour and skill were given to *himself*, the master replied, without being apparently conscious of the wrong, "Oh, no ! his earnings belong to *me*, because I bought him ; and in return for this I give him maintenance, and make a handsome profit besides." It is in this way that the increase of slaves by breeding, as in Sir Roger de Coverley's plantation, adds to a planter's income ; but if the slave were free, the earnings would be his own, while now they are taken from him ; and if this be not a violation of the scriptural maxim that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," it is difficult to know what would be so.

On this subject, however, the prejudices of the southern people are as inveterate as those of the inhabitants of China or Hindoostan in favour of their ancient customs and superstitions ; or as those of certain classes in England, on subjects in which their own personal and pecuniary interests completely blind their judgments.

CHAP. V.

Climate of Charleston—Statistics of health—Culture and manufacture of silk in the southern states—Population of Charleston, free and slaves—Classes, occupations, and character of the whites—Personal appearance and manners—Ancient reputation of South Carolina—Literary taste more prevalent than in the north—Library of Charleston—No divorce ever granted by this State—Early encouragement of Indian intermarriages—Peculiar attention paid to funerals—Literary, religious, and benevolent societies—Public meeting on behalf of seamen.

THE climate of Charleston has been usually considered unhealthy: for it is certain, that in the low country surrounding it, no white person can sleep, during the summer months, without taking the country fever, one of the most malignant type, and most generally fatal; while in the city itself, nearly all the strangers, or new-comers, are subject to the ordinary fever in the autumn, and even natives of the city, if absent for a few years, become as liable to this fever as strangers. A medical gentleman, however, Dr. Logan, in an elaborate article on the climate of Charleston, published in the Southern Literary Journal, makes this bold assertion, that “Charleston, in spite of the exaggerated account of its hot climate, and the sad catalogue of its diseases recorded by Dr. Chalmers, is *decidedly one of the healthiest cities on the face of the globe.*” This assertion is supported, however, by an array of facts and figures, which are sufficiently curious and interesting to be presented to the view of those who may

desire to be informed on the subject ; and therefore the following passages from this treatise are transcribed :—

“ Situated in the latitude of $32^{\circ} 47'$ N. and longitude $80^{\circ} 00' 52''$ W. from Greenwich, and spreading out on a large plain, with the sea open to it in front, and laved by the waters of two spacious rivers on either side, it possesses the most eligible location for a city, and a climate unsurpassed for an agreeable medium between heat and cold, by any city on our southern frontier. Having numerous streets running in straight lines from east to west, and extending from river to river, the best natural means are afforded for draining, which have been judiciously improved by the addition of subterranean drains, through which most of the tide-water flows, so that every nuisance is thoroughly washed out, and the city thus kept free from all impurities. In the rivers Ashley and Cooper, which almost entirely surround the city, rendering it a peninsula, the water is decidedly salt, partaking of all the properties of sea-water as high up as fifteen, and, during droughts, of twenty miles from their mouths. Between these rivers, the ground, for a circumference of twenty miles in the country, is not ten feet higher, at a medium, than the full sea at spring-tides, and the peninsula of Charleston is not seven feet above high-water mark.

“ The atmospherical vicissitudes of our city are, nevertheless, sometimes sudden and considerable, although much less so than formerly ; for we find that in 1752, as great a difference as 83° on different days of the same year, actually occurred ; and frequent instances are on record in which the thermometer fell 50° in less than fifteen hours. Since the year 1751, in which Dr. Chalmers mentions a difference of 46° in the course of sixteen hours, we find no very uncommon fall of the thermometer on record, until the 27th of April, 1813, when there suddenly occurred a difference of 44° in the course of a few hours. In 1819, Dr. Shecut again records a sudden fall in the thermometer of 33° in the course of twelve hours. Such great variations are not now so common as formerly.

“ But the most salutary and perceptible change is in the remarkable diminution of the summer heat. In 1752, the ther-

monometer rose from 90° to 101° in the shade, and 120° in the sun; and Dr. Chalmers states, that in the same year, the thermometer of Fahrenheit stood, in the coolest part of his kitchen, at 115° . By comparing the degrees of heat for the ten years recorded by Dr. Chalmers, from 1750 to 1759, with those of the ten years recorded by Dr. Shecut, from 1809 to 1818, at half a century apart, the result will be a proof of the increasing mildness of the temperature of Charleston. The average of the mean heat of the former years was 68° , and that of the latter only 60° ."

The following table is compiled from the writings of Hewat, Chalmers, Shecut, and the Report of the Board of Health, showing the comparative temperature of Charleston, from the years 1738 to 1836—nearly a century:—

Years.	Maximum.	Minimum.	Range
1738 to 1742	101°	17°	84°
1750 to 1759	101	18	83
1822 to 1825	92	19	73
1833 to 1836	94	5	89

This diminution of extreme heat is attributed to the clearing of woods, draining of swamps, and other acts of cultivation, as has been the case in China, according to the observations of Dr. Lind. In a comparison of the proportion of deaths to population, in the different cities of the world, Charleston bears a higher rank in salubrity than any, except London, Petersburg, and Geneva, though not quite so high as Dr. Logan would assign it, when he calls it "one of the healthiest cities on the globe." The salubrity of all great cities has much increased with increasing medical skill, and knowledge of the laws of health, as well as greater attention to cleanliness and comfort in the modes of life, in the quantity and quality of food and raiment, ventilation, &c., all of which have

had their share in improving the general health and longevity of the inhabitants of great cities. The following table exhibits the proportions of deaths to population at the periods named :—

London . . .	in 1690, 1 in 24	—	in 1828, 1 in 55
Petersburgh, .	1761, 1 in 28	—	1828, 1 in 48
Geneva . . .	1560, 1 in 18	—	1821, 1 in 43
Berlin . . .	1765, 1 in 28	—	1827, 1 in 34
Paris . . .	1650, 1 in 25	—	1829, 1 in 32
Rome . . .	1721, 1 in 21	—	1828, 1 in 31
Amsterdam . .	1770, 1 in 25	—	1828, 1 in 29
Stockholm . .	1763, 1 in 19	—	1827, 1 in 26
Vienna . . .	1750, 1 in 20	—	1821, 1 in 25
Charleston . .	1738, 1 in 37	—	1835, 1 in 45

By which it appears that Charleston ranks higher than it has hitherto been the custom to regard her, on the score of general healthiness of climate ; though there are great drawbacks to this in the years when yellow fever comes ; which, however, like the great summer heats, seems gradually extending the intervals between the periods of its return, and may possibly, at some future time, disappear altogether. The deaths by yellow fever are stated as follows in the years mentioned :—

In 1817 .	268	in 1827 .	63	in 1834 .	49
1824 .	236	in 1828 .	26	in 1838 .	356

The fever of the last year is considered, however, to be an exception to the ordinary state of things, and to have been produced by the exposure of the large surface of drains, cisterns, and domestic impurities, occasioned by the destruction of all the upper parts of the dwellings in the great fire, leaving their

lower parts open to the influence of the hot summer sun. The following is the latest official report on the subject :—

“ Mortality in Charleston.—The whole number of deaths in the city of Charleston, during 1838, was 1,209 :—white males, 551 ; white females, 158 ; black males, 277 ; females, 223. Of this number there were 37 from 70 to 80 years of age ; 20 from 80 to 90 ; 10 from 90 to 100 ; and 2 from 110 to 120. Consumption, 107 ; yellow fever, 354, stroke of the sun, 6. The population is 30,289.’

At the season of the year in which we had the pleasure of being at Charleston, January and February, 1839, nothing could be more agreeable than the temperature, nothing more healthy than the climate. The thermometer was usually from 50° to 60° in the daytime, and rarely below 40° at the coolest part of the night. There was occasional rain, but neither frost nor snow ; and the bright sun was deliciously warm and pleasurable in the open air. We enjoyed this the more, perhaps, from having, by our coming here, escaped the excessive cold of the North ; for, in addition to the violent gales and floods that had committed such ravages at Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, since our arrival here, we gathered the following particulars respecting the temperature at the North since we quitted it :—

“ Severe cold at the North.—The Albany Argus states, that on Wednesday last, the thermometer, at seven o'clock, A. M. stood at twenty-two degrees above zero, and in two hours and a half thereafter had fallen to zero ! From that time the mercury continued to fall, but more gradually, and at eight o'clock, P. M. stood at eight degrees below zero ! There was a keen and violent wind from the north-west through the whole day.”

“ The following day appears to have been much colder, according to the annexed report of the temperature, which we find in the New York Commercial Advertiser ;—

At Saratoga Spa, Jan. 24, 7 A.M. 33 below zero.

Balston Spa	„	7	„	33	„
Albany, . .	„	6½	„	14	„
Boston, . .	„	7	„	14	„
Charlestown, near Boston,				10	„
Chelsea,	„	8 A.M.		7	„
Dorchester,		6	„	15	„

During our stay at Charleston, we had an opportunity of learning some useful information respecting the recent introduction of the culture of silk in various parts of the country, for which the soil and climate are admirably adapted, but especially in the southern states of Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. The following article on this subject appeared in one of the Charleston papers during our stay there :—

“ Attention is solicited to the following notice, copied from the Augusta Constitutionalist. Mr. Olmsted, the gentleman therein mentioned, is now in this city, but will leave it to-day. Zealous, however, to diffuse information upon the important subject to which he has so long given his especial attention, he will attend at Stewart’s Carolina hotel, between the hours of 11 A.M. and 2 P.M., to give the benefit of his experience to all who may call upon him, to inquire into the history of the experiment of the Silk culture in Connecticut, which has been attended with such successful results. There is no doubt, from past experience, and from the known advantage of climate, that an experiment in making silk, which can be followed by even moderate success, so far north as Connecticut, cannot fail, with half the attention, to succeed entirely in Carolina and other southern States.

‘ *Silk Culture*.—An interesting article on the silk culture will be found in this day’s paper, taken from the Richmond Enquirer.

If that important culture has attracted much attention in the North, certainly in the South, where the climate is better adapted to that branch of agriculture, a greater interest should be taken in its improvement. That the people of the north can raise and manufacture silk to great advantage, we had ocular proof on Tuesday last, in company with a number of our citizens, at the Eagle and Phoenix hotel. Mr. Olmsted, a gentleman from East Hartford, Connecticut, who has devoted much of his attention to the subject, and who is now on a visit to the South, was kind enough to exhibit to us a number of samples of sewing, twist, and raw silk, of various colours, which will bear a comparison with any of the same kind imported, and which was raised and manufactured on his own farm, during the past year, by Mr. J. Danforth. The samples exhibited to us were parts of the product of an eighth of an acre of ground, planted as an experiment. We were informed by Mr. Olmsted, that the trees from which the worms were fed were planted between the 15th and 20th of May last, in rows of $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet, on land cultivated the preceding year, and of a sandy loam, ploughed up about the middle of September, at the rate of 20,000 an hour. He commenced gathering the leaves and feeding about the 10th of July. The quantity of leaves gathered amounted to 1194 lbs. The quantity of silk-worms fed, 32,000; and the quantity of cocoons produced nine bushels, yielding nine pounds of silk, waste silk and floss one pound. About 5000 of the worms were fed on 180 lbs. of leaves, and the product of them was two bushels of cocoons, or two pounds of silk. This establishes the fact, that 90 lbs. of leaves of the *Morus Multicanlus* are sufficient to produce one pound of silk. He commenced plucking the leaves when the trees were four and five feet high, leaving four leaves at the top of the tree. He thinks the products of an eighth of an acre would have been more than 1200 lbs. of leaves; but being short of worms, he had use for no more than 1164 lbs. If we take the estimate of 1200 lbs. of leaves to the eighth of an acre, as a basis, the product of an acre would be over 100 lbs. of silk; but allowing even 100 lbs. to the acre, the silk, manufactured in sewing-silk, being worth ten dollars per pound, the produce of one acre of land would be 1000 dollars, besides multiplying the trees for market."

The exhibition taking place at the hotel at which we were staying, I attended it; and I thought the specimens, both of raw and manufactured silk, of which there were various kinds, quite equal to any that I had seen in Europe. If this be the result in the very infancy of the undertaking, there can be very little doubt that the culture and manufacture of silk will, in a few years, become a most important branch of domestic industry in the United States; the more so, as it can be cultivated in all the States, from Maine to Louisiana, whereas the present chief staple, cotton, can only be grown in the warm region south of the Potomac. Already, it is said that nine of the States have offered premiums for encouraging the culture of silk, and others will probably soon follow.

The population of Charleston city was, by the last decennial census of 1830, returned at 30,289; the Neck, which adjoins it, though beyond the city boundary, contained 10,054; and the whole district of Charleston has 86,338. The proportions of this population are at present estimated to be about one-half white and one-half coloured, including slaves and free. This proportion applies to the city population only; as in the entire State the coloured persons exceed the whites; the whole population, in 1830, being 581,458, in the following classes:—

White Males, 130,590	Slaves, Males, 165,625	Free Coloured Males, 3,672
White Females, 127,273	Slaves, Females, 160,040	Free Coloured Females, 4,249

The white population of Charleston are chiefly engaged in trade and commerce, though there appears to be a larger proportion of professional men, clergy, lawyers, and physicians, mingled with these, than in

the northern cities ; and even the merchants have a more liberal education, and more gentlemanly deportment, than is general with the same classes in the north. The native Southerners are easily distinguished from the New England settlers, and from other foreigners, by their brunette complexions, black eyes, and black hair. There is a sort of dandyism, in the dress of the young men especially, which is peculiarly southern : short frock-coats, small black stocks, rounded shirt-collars, turned down outside the stock to give coolness to the neck, hair or beard under the throat, low-crowned and broad-brimmed white felt hats, and walking-sticks, are among the most striking parts of the costume. The women are, in general, handsomer, more graceful, and more ladylike, than those of the same classes in the north ; and the style of living with both is on a more sumptuous and liberal scale than in the northern cities ; while they continue to sustain the ancient reputation of Carolina for “ the hospitality of her sons, and the intelligence and influence of her daughters.”

The descriptions given of the State in 1764, by Grahame, from the best authorities of that day, would equally apply to Charleston, at least, in the present. He says, “ South Carolina, which had continued to advance in growth, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, reaped an ample and immediate share of the advantages resulting from the peace of Paris. ‘ It has been remarked,’ says the historian Hewit, at this period, ‘ that there are more persons possessed of between five and ten thousand pounds sterling, in South Carolina, than are to be found anywhere else among the same number of people.

In point of rank, all men regard their neighbours as their equals, and, a noble spirit of benevolence pervades the society. The planters were generally distinguished by their hospitable dispositions, their sociable manners, and the luxurious cheer of their tables. Almost every family kept a one-horse chaise, and some maintained the most splendid equipages that Britain could furnish. All the new literary publications in London were regularly transmitted to the province. Hunting and horse-racing were favourite amusements of the men—assemblies, concerts, balls, and plays, were common. ‘It is acknowledged by all,’ says Hewit, ‘but especially by strangers, that the ladies in this province considerably outshine the men; they are not only sensible, discreet, and virtuous, but also adorned with most of those polite and elegant accomplishments becoming their sex;’ a praise, which was justified in a very remarkable manner in the year 1780, when the courageous patriotism and inflexible fortitude of the women of South Carolina restored the expiring cause of liberty in the province.”

At present there is the same hospitality and generosity among the men, and the same elegance and politeness of manner among the women; but balls and concerts are now very rare, and the only theatre here is not much frequented, at least by the higher classes of society, its chief supporters being strangers, and persons below the middle rank of life; which is the case, indeed, throughout the United States generally. A taste for literature is more prevalent here, however, than in most of the American cities; and there appeared to me to be a much more general

acquaintance with the popular writers of Europe among the society of Charleston than in that of Boston, with less of pretension. The library of the city is much resorted to by all classes, and it contains an excellent collection of the best works of the last and present century, exceeding 15,000 volumes. Attached to the library is also a museum of natural history, in which are collected a number of interesting objects, the inspection of which afforded me several days' agreeable and instructive occupation.

Among other facts communicated to me during my stay here, I learnt that there had never yet been a divorce granted, either by the judiciary, or the legislature of this State, though one of the oldest in the Union. There is no law against granting divorces, nor have there been wanting many applications for them, and some strongly supported; but the general feeling of the legislature and bench has been, that it is better for a few to be denied this release from uncongenial alliances, than that a door should be opened for the too frequent separations of those who are once united. The effect of this is said to be to produce greater care and caution in the formation of marriage unions; and if so, society is greatly benefitted thereby.

Before the revolution there was one British governor, at least, who appeared to have taken great pains to promote intermarriages between the native Indians and British or American females. Sir William Johnson is said by Grahame, on the authority of the Annual Register for 1766, to have "cultivated the good-will of the Indian tribes by the respect which he showed for their manners and usages, and studied to promote their friendly coalition with the British

colonists, by encouraging the intermarriages of the two races. His exertions appear to have been attended with some success; for we find that in the year 1766, no fewer than eighteen marriages were contracted, under his auspices, between Indian chiefs and young white women of South Carolina." This was at least a more humane mode of subjecting the Indians to British influence, than the horrid attempt made only two years before, in this quarter, when, according to the same authority, "there was despatched from England to America a pack of bloodhounds, by whose peculiar instinct it was expected that the British troops would be materially aided in discovering the tracks and retreats of their Indian foes."

From conversations with the clergy here, I learnt that their duty was considered to be much increased by the great formalities attending funerals, and by the practice, which custom has rendered necessary, of their being called upon to preach funeral sermons on the death of almost every individual of respectability, whether holding any public office, or distinguished by any particular traits of character, or not. It is remarkable, that this practice of giving publicity and importance to funerals should have always been more general in the colonies than in the mother-country; it may have arisen probably from the fact that the settlers dying away from their homes, their surviving relatives enjoyed more of the sympathies of their neighbours, and they manifested this sympathy by assisting to swell the attendance at their funerals; as well as from the very intimate and general acquaintance of all the members of colonial communities with each other; the general equality of their condition,

and the similarity of their pursuits, occasioning this intimacy and acquaintance between all the resident families of the same settlement or city. Be the cause what it may, the fact is undoubted. Grahame says, in reference to this subject, "It was noted, from an early period, as a peculiarity in the manners of the North American colonists, that their funerals were conducted with a degree of pomp and expense unknown to the contemporary practice of Europe. The costliness of funerals in New England, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, in particular, has been remarked by various writers. The legislature of Massachusetts, in the year 1724, enacted a law for restraining this vain and unreasonable prodigality; and especially prohibiting, under a penalty of £20, the common practice of presenting a scarf to every guest who attended a funeral. Philosophic men, in others of the provinces, laboured with more zeal than success to recommend a similar reformation to their fellow-citizens. In none of the colonies was greater expense incurred or magnificence displayed at funerals, than in South Carolina, where the interment of the dead was generally combined with a sumptuous banquet and good cheer for the living, which induced Winterbotham to remark, that the Scripture observation, 'It is better to go to the house of mourning than to the house of feasting' is unintelligible, and wholly inapplicable to South Carolina, as it is there difficult to distinguish the one from the other."

While the dead, however, have their full share of honour and respect, and perhaps rather more than their due portion of expense bestowed on their interment, the living are not neglected; and Charleston

might perhaps challenge any city in the world, of a similar population to its own, not more than 12,000 whites of all ages, to produce a longer list of societies and institutions for the promotion of literature, useful knowledge, religion, and benevolence. The following are among the number :-

St. Andrew's Society.
 South Carolina Society.
 Fellowship Society.
 Episcopal Clergy Society.
 German Friendly Society.
 Orphan House.
 Congregational Clergy Society.
 Hibernian Society.
 St. George's Society.
 Mechanic's Society.
 Hebrew Orphan Society.
 Methodist Charitable Society.
 Charleston Bible Society.
 Society for Advocating Christianity.
 New England Society.
 Ladies' Benevolent Society.
 Baptist Missionary Society.
 Female Education Society.
 Charleston Marine Society.
 Marine Bible Society.
 Sunday School Union.
 Diocesan Sunday School Society.
 Female Domestic Mission Society.
 Episcopal Young Men's Mission Society.
 Typographical Society.
 Episcopal Female Domestic Mission Soc.
 Charleston Bethel Union.
 Methodist Missionary Society.
 Charleston Port Society.
 Baptist Female Mission Society.
 Methodist Female Association.
 Female Charitable Association.

Apprentices' Library Society.
 British and American Tract Society.³
 Foreign Mission Society.
 Female Seamen's Friend Society.
 Female Bible Society.
 Methodist Bible and Tract Society.
 Female Episcopal Tract Society.
 Baptist General Tract Society.
 Windward Anchor Society.
 Young Men's Temperance Society.
 Young Men's Bible Society.
 Juvenile Foreign Mission Society.
 Reform Society of Israelites.
 Methodist Benevolent Society.
 Methodist Missionary Society.
 Methodist Tract Society.
 Young Men's Education Society.
 Typographical Association.
 Ancient Artillery Society.
 French Benevolent Society.
 St. Patrick Benevolent Society.
 Medical Society of South Carolina.
 Medical Society of the State.
 Literary and Philosophical Society.
 Deutschen Freundshafs.
 Charleston Library Society.
 South Carolina Association.
 Chamber of Commerce.
 Agricultural Society.
 St. Cecilia Musical Society.
 Young Men's Debating Society.

During my stay at Charleston, I was solicited by the directors of the Charleston Port Society to deliver a public address in support of their object, which was to better the condition and improve the morals and character of the seamen frequenting their port, by all suitable means—which I cheerfully consented to do ; and at the close of the public lectures which were delivered in the First Presbyterian church, to audiences generally exceeding 1,000 in number each, such an address was accordingly delivered. It was

attended by nearly all the respectable merchants and shipowners of the city. From the statistics furnished on this occasion, it appeared that the Port Society of Charleston had been established for upwards of twenty years, and is wholly supported by voluntary contributions. It had recently established a Temperance Boarding House, which was maintained by its own income, assisted by the efforts of the Ladies' Seaman's Friend Society; and during the year ending on the 20th of March last, it had accommodated upwards of 300 seamen; and since that date to the present time it had received 280. This, however, proved but a small portion of the whole number to be provided for; as the seamen frequenting the port of Charleston in the course of a single year was estimated at not less than 7,000, though not more than 500 of these belonged to vessels registered in the port. This very circumstance of their having no permanent home or abode, made it the more desirable to establish one for their accommodation; and accordingly, after showing the nature and extent of their claims on the sympathy and protection of the community, and pointing out the benefits that would result from these claims being answered. I recommended the establishment here, as at New York, Boston, and New Bedford, of a "Sailor's Home," or permanent asylum, fitted in every suitable way for the reception of seamen, and furnished with all that could give them innocent enjoyment and pleasure, as well as comfortable subsistence. I suggested as the best and easiest, as well as a most just and most efficient, mode of raising the funds necessary

for such a building, the following plan :—First, to institute a voluntary tax or payment of some small sum on every bale of cotton and barrel of rice shipped from the port for a year ; secondly, to collect a small impost on the tonnage of the ships entering and leaving the port for a similar period ; thirdly, to invite annual subscriptions from the community for as long a period as they saw fit ; and fourthly, to solicit donations of a larger amount, from the opulent and benevolent members of the community.

The effect produced by this address was such as to surpass our most sanguine expectations. A handsome sum was raised at once by a general collection ; and on the following day a meeting was held of some of the principal merchants and shippers of the port, at which resolutions were passed, recommending the merchants to pay two cents per bale on all sea-island cotton, one cent per bale on all ordinary or upland cotton, and one cent per barrel on all rice, shipped from the port for the space of a year ; and to invite, at the same time, from the general community, subscriptions and donations in the manner proposed ; so that if this impulse should be followed up, there would be little room to doubt the complete success of the effort in providing a spacious and commodious “Home” for those “wanderers of the deep,” who are now the constant victims of the harpies that lie in wait for them on their arrival from every voyage, and who first intoxicate, then plunder, and then abandon them to their fate.

This closed my public labours at Charleston, our stay at which had been rendered more than usually

agreeable by a variety of concurrent causes. We had escaped from the rigours of the northern winter, and found the climate here delightful. Our letters of introduction had obtained us the acquaintance of some of the most agreeable families of the city, whose hospitalities and attentions were highly acceptable. My lectures were attended with larger audiences, in proportion to the population, than in any place in which they had yet been delivered in America; and after the two courses on Egypt and Palestine were concluded, a third course on the countries beyond the Jordan was solicited, and attended as largely as either of the two former. In no other city were they so faithfully reported, or their most prominent features so accurately portrayed as in this, by the zealous and able editor of the Charleston Courier; so that all things seemed to concur to produce for us the greatest amount of pleasure; and we therefore passed three most agreeable weeks in this hospitable city.

CHAP. VI.

Departure for Savannah—Character of the passage within the islands—Striking resemblance of Charleston to New York—Appearance of negroes on the plantations—Practice of stealing cattle for food—Contradictory statements as to the negro character—Vessel grounded in the mud for fourteen hours—Alligators, mosquitoes—Insalubrity of the low lands—Pass Cockspur Island, and Port Royal or Beaufort—Arrival at Savannah, and reception there.

ON Friday, the 8th of February, we left Charleston for Savannah. We were attended to the steam-boat “William Seabrook,” by a number of friends, whose expressions of regret at our departure, and hope of our meeting again, were more than usually ardent, and, as we had every reason to believe, sincere. We quitted the wharf about 11 o’clock in the forenoon. Our voyage was to be made by the inner passage, as it is called, for the purpose of touching at several small villages and plantations on our way, this steam-vessel being so occupied for the accommodation of the planters living near the route. All along the coast of North and South Carolina, as well as of Georgia and Florida, there are a number of small low islands, separated from the continent only by narrow arms of the sea, in the shape of creeks; and these mingling with branches of rivers, bays, and lakes afford a continuous chain of water-communication, within the island, at distances of from ten to fifty miles inland from the ocean. This series of islands is chiefly devoted to the cultivation

of the finer kinds of cotton, called, from the place of its growth, "Sea-Island cotton;" and as the plantations are numerous and the population considerable, the inner passage, between these islands and the main land, is more interesting to one who wishes to see the country, than the outer passage by the sea. We therefore preferred going by it, although I had been offered a passage for myself and family in the larger steam-vessel, the "Charleston," which was going round from hence, under the direction of General Hamilton on his way to Texas, to the government of which this steamer had been sold, and on her way she was to touch at the principal parts of Georgia and Florida.

As we passed from the Cooper river on the east of Charleston, round the extreme southern point of the town near the Battery, and up the Ashley river on the west, the aspect of the city was picturesque and animating; and its resemblance to New York, though on a smaller scale, extremely striking—the Cooper corresponding to the East river, along the wharfs of which were crowds of ships, the masts of all exhibiting their respective signal-flags; and the Ashley corresponding to the Hudson river, with the Battery, at the southern point between them. The structures of Fort Moultrie or Sullivan's Island, which defeated a large squadron of British ships, and a force under Sir Henry Clinton, in the war of the revolution; and of Fort Pinckney on a smaller island immediately opposite to the city, corresponding to the forts on Governor's Island and Bedlow's Island in the bay of New York, complete the resemblance; while the passage out to sea on the south is about the same distance as the Narrows from the Battery of the last-

named city; and both are admirably situated for navigation and commerce, though New York has the great advantage of a thickly-peopled country behind it, which Charleston does not yet possess.

Nearly opposite to the upper part of the city, on its western side, we passed out of the Ashley river into a narrow artificial cut, as the commencement of our inland passage: and though the steam-vessel drew only four feet water, we grounded several times in the short bends and sharp turnings of this narrow pass; yet, as it was a rising tide, we floated off again, and pursued our way. We soon got into broader passages and deeper water, and then again into narrower and shallower channels; and on each side of us were seen occasional plantations, with the dwellings of the planters, the huts of the negroes, and groups of these at their labours, ploughing and preparing the land. This appeared to be performed in an indolent, indifferent, and rudely imperfect manner; and, as far as outward indications could be a guide, there seemed as little of cheerfulness and comfort as the condition of the labourers might lead one to expect.

In the course of the afternoon we took in tow a long boat, rowed by twelve negroes, with a covered cabin, in which were two slaves in custody of a white sheriff's officer, conveying them to one of the judicial stations for trial. It appeared that an overseer, or driver, on a plantation, had been shot dead by a negro belonging to an adjoining estate, and these two men were taken up on suspicion, one as the perpetrator, and the other as an accomplice in the act. The reason assigned by our white inform-

ants on board for the murder was this:—They alleged that the negroes were often in the habit of stealing cattle from their masters' plantations, as well as from the neighbouring estates, and their overseer being a vigilant man, had often detected them; so that to remove him, and thus carry on their depredations unmolested, they had shot him with a rifle. I inquired what they did with the stolen cattle, when they escaped detection; and was informed that they killed them in secret for food, some using the flesh themselves, others exchanging it with other negroes for rice; and some being given to runaway negroes, who were often secretly sustained in this manner by their fellow-slaves, till they could get safely out of their hiding places, and effect their escape.

I ventured to remark, that this seemed to prove two things: first, that the negroes were not sufficiently fed, as they were willing to encounter the risk of death in stealing food for their own use; and secondly, that there must be great sympathy among them with their runaway brethren, to incur the risk of death, to supply them also with the means of subsistence. But the general opinion of those with whom I conversed seemed to be, that there was something in the African race which made them naturally incapable of moral improvement, and insensible to all notions of distinction between right and wrong.

I could not help observing, however, that the testimonies of the same persons differed very much according to the turn which the conversation took. When they spoke of the coercion employed towards the negroes, and endeavoured to justify the necessity of it, they were represented as “an indolent, worthless,

and ungrateful race, wholly incompetent to arouse themselves to voluntary labour by any adequate motive, and so ungrateful for favours received, that the better they were treated the worse they behaved." On the other hand, when it was lamented that they could not be elevated from their present condition, and made to feel the influence of hope for the future, and a desire to improve their circumstances, and bring up their children with some education, it was replied that "they were already as happy as persons could be, that they were perfectly contented with their condition, and on the whole a much better race without education than with, as they were now faithful, kind-hearted, and attached to their masters, whereas education would destroy all their natural virtues, and make them as vicious as the lower orders in other countries." Such were the contradictory statements which I heard, not from different persons, but from the same individuals.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, we entered one of the narrowest of the cuts communicating with the creeks and rivers between the islands, and close to the battle-ground of Stona, where a desperate conflict arose between the British and American forces during the revolutionary war. Here the steam-boat took the ground at the very top of high water, so that all hopes of getting her off again were vain, until the next return of the flood, when the night tide, being higher than that of the day, would probably float her through.

We remained here, therefore, through a tedious night; though there was much in our favour, to counterbalance this inconvenience; for the boat was

furnished with excellent accommodations : the table was better supplied than in most hotels on shore, the captain was a gentlemanly and attentive man, and the passengers, to the number of nearly 100, contained many intelligent and agreeable persons, so that the time was beguiled by varied and instructive conversation. During our stay in this creek, only one alligator was seen, though they abound here in the summer ; but at this season they are thought to be concealed in holes along the banks, in a state of torpidity. They are not dangerous to man, like the alligators of the tropics, but fly at the least sound or pursuit ; though they will sometimes stand at bay with a dog, and instances have been known of large alligators drawing a young dog into the water, but this is rare. Mosquitoes also abound here in the summer season ; and the whole region being one of marshy land, and often flooded, is extremely unhealthy from August to October, when few white persons remain here, and all intercourse by the inner passage is then suspended for the more healthy route by the open sea.

At four o'clock in the morning of the 9th, the water was found to be just high enough to float the vessel off the mud, though we had not three inches of depth to spare ; and we were obliged to propel the vessel to her utmost capacity of speed to get through this shallow cut while the high water continued. We continued our course through the same description of creeks and narrow passages, and with the same character of scenery on both sides ; the weather was however delicious, the thermometer being at 65°, the air fresh and balmy, like a fine

English day in June, though now in the early part of February, when the cold in the Chesapeake was so severe, as to close the navigation of that noble bay by the ice.

At sunrise of the second day we arrived at Edisto, a small village on the northern edge of the island of that name, one of the sea-islands devoted to the cultivation of cotton. And after receiving a supply of fire-wood, we proceeded on our way, with increasing breadth of water, and increasing interest of scenery from the greater variety and abundance of wood; until, at sun-set we reached the town of Beaufort, or Port Royal, where we remained for an hour to discharge and take in freight and passengers.

This is a small place, inhabited chiefly by wealthy planters, and families in easy circumstances, who come here to reside at certain seasons of the year, for the sake of the sea-breezes, which blow through the inlet at the head of which it is situated, and is not at all a place of trade. Its population, white and coloured, does not exceed 1,000 persons. The most healthy spots along the coast are the dry sandy ridges near the sea; and these preserve their salubrity throughout the summer and autumn; while, within a mile of such positions, where moisture and decayed vegetation exist, the miasma produces a fever that is fatal to strangers, and very dangerous even to the natives of the soil, who leave these parts to the negroes and a few overseers on their estates.

At eight o'clock we left Beaufort, and at ten arrived at a place called Hilton Head, the opening of a broader passage, where we anchored for the night; and getting under way at four in the morning, we

passed at daylight, a small fort and light-house, on Cockspur Island ; and at eight o'clock entered a stream called the Tybee, which led us soon into the Savannah river. After passing by a number of large ships anchored a few miles below the town, two or three only of which were American, and the greater number from London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Cork, we reached the city of Savannah at ten o'clock, and hauling alongside the wharf, were soon furnished with conveyances to take us to the Pulaski Hotel, where we took up our abode.

We remained here a fortnight, and passed our time most agreeably. Having been favoured with many letters of introduction from Charleston, we were soon surrounded by a large circle of friends, and many of the principal families to whom we had no letters, were quite as cordial in the voluntary tender of their hospitalities. We attended several large parties, and many more small social circles, in each of which we found ourselves completely at home. We were taken to some of the pleasantest drives around the city, and to all the public institutions within it, while my two courses of lectures, which were very fully attended, that on Palestine in the Unitarian church, and that on Egypt in the Baptist church, brought us every day acquainted with new friends, not only among the residents of the city, but with persons from the interior passing through Savannah, on their way to other places, and many and urgent were the entreaties that I would visit the several towns from whence they came.

C H A P. VII.

Foundation, rise, and progress of Savannah—Visit of Sir Walter Raleigh and Governor Oglethorpe—Philanthropic design of the original colony—Oglethorpe's first treaty with the Indian chiefs—Visit of the warriors to the king of England—First code of laws framed for Georgia—Prohibition of rum, and of negro slavery—Emigration of Moravians—Voyage of John Wesley—Striking picture of their religious exercises—Emigration of Scottish highlanders to Darien—Foundation of Augusta—Moravian settlements—Testimony of Charles Wesley on the treatment of slaves—Visit of George Whitefield after John Wesley's return—Charter of Georgia surrendered to the crown—Character of her population at this period—Emigration of Quakers—Attack of the French and Americans on Savannah—Evacuation of the British—Surrender of the city—Progress of Georgia since that period—Statistics of her population and commerce—General description of the State—Geography—Productions—Government—Judiciary—Education—Religion—Banking and trade.

THE history of the foundation and progress of the State of Georgia may be more briefly told than that of the more northern provinces, though it is not without its incidents of public interest. It appears from Sir Walter Raleigh's Journal, corroborated by the testimony of the Indians, at the first settlement of Georgia, that long before its being taken possession of by the English, it had been visited by Sir Walter Raleigh, who sailed up the Savannah river, and landed and held a conference with some Indian chiefs on the very spot on which the city of Savannah now stands. The territory now forming the State of Georgia, was first included in the patent granted to South Carolina, of which the history has been already given; and it was then under a proprietary

government. In 1719, however, it became a royal territory, its limits being between the 31st and 36th degrees of latitude; and it was not until 1732 that it was granted by charter to an incorporated company by George the Second, in honour of whom its present name of Georgia was given.

The circumstances which gave rise to this grant were of a mixed character. The possession of Florida by the Spaniards was a source of continual apprehension and difficulty to the settlers of South Carolina; and it was thought desirable to interpose between these two a barrier State or province, and by peopling it with Europeans well armed and trained, to make it answer as an advanced post of defence. This was undoubtedly the first motive which led to the settling of Georgia. About the same period, however, that this was projected, a number of Englishmen, some animated by religious zeal, some by philanthropy, and some by patriotism, conceived the design of promoting the settlement of this then unoccupied region; the religionists, to open an asylum for the persecuted Protestants of various countries in Europe; the philanthropists, to secure a home for the many poor families in Britain, whose labour was inadequate to obtain them a decent subsistence; and the patriots, to strengthen the British power, and extend its dominion over these distant lands.

It was in 1728, that General Oglethorpe, who may be called the founder of Georgia, being then a member of the British House of Commons, obtained its sanction to the appointment of a committee of inquiry into the state of the prisons in England. Of this committee he was nominated chairman; and in

the following year it presented a report which induced the House to adopt measures for reforming some of the most prominent evils of the prison-system of discipline then existing. The illustrious Howard, in his philanthropic labours of examining the prisons of England, and exposing their abuses, had brought to light such facts as almost staggered belief, while they touched the sympathy of many benevolent hearts, and prepared the way for a great effort of reformation. A rich and humane citizen of London, having bequeathed his ample fortune for the express purpose of liberating as many insolvent debtors from prison as its amount would allow, some members of parliament undertook to visit the jails, and select the objects that seemed most worthy to be participators of this generous bequest. The difficulty of obtaining for these released debtors suitable and profitable employment when set free, was, however, much greater than the task of selecting them; and it was partly to meet this difficulty, as well as to provide for the other objects named, that Oglethorpe and his benevolent associates conceived the plan of founding a new colony between South Carolina and Florida, and transporting to it as settlers as many of the poor and destitute thus released from their imprisonment, as could be prevailed upon to go, including as many others as their means of transport and settlement would admit.

In pursuance of this philanthropic design, application was made to the monarch, by Oglethorpe and his associates, for a charter of incorporation, which was readily granted, and the sum of £10,000 sterling was also obtained by a vote of the House of Commons, to be added to the private estate left by the

London merchant for the liberation of insolvent debtors. To this also was promised to be added the funds previously raised for Bishop Berkeley's college for instructing the Indians, but never appropriated. The Moravians, who in 1727 first proclaimed their intention of undertaking missionary labours on an extensive scale, hearing of this intended new colony, offered to unite a portion of their body with it ; so that the foundation thus appeared to be laid of a useful and prosperous settlement. The royal charter granted in 1732 ceded all the territory between the rivers Alatomaha and Savannah, as a separate and independent province, under the title of Georgia, to twenty-one noblemen and gentlemen under the title of "Trustees for settling and establishing the Colony of Georgia." Among these were the celebrated Lord Shaftesbury, author of "The Characteristics," Lords Percival, Tyrconnel, Limerick, and Carpenter, James Edward Oglethorpe, and Stephen Hales, an English clergyman, and one of the most distinguished natural philosophers of the day. These were entrusted with the powers of legislation for twenty-one years, after which the colony was to lapse to the crown, and be placed under such form of government as the monarch then reigning might determine.

The trustees being empowered to collect contributions from the public for assisting the first settlers, gave an example to others by their own liberality, which was imitated by many wealthy persons. The Bank of England gave a large donation ; and the House of Commons voted several sums, amounting in the whole to £36,000. Some silk-workers from

Piedmont, bringing with them a quantity of silkworms' eggs hatched in Italy, were engaged to accompany the first expedition ; as the cultivation of silk was one of the first objects intended to be put in practice. All being prepared for their departure, General Oglethorpe, placing himself at the head of the first body of emigrants, sailed from Gravesend with 116 persons, to found the colony proposed.

In January, 1733, they reached Charleston, where they received considerable assistance from the Carolinians. After a short stay there, they proceeded to the station then called Yamacran, where they planted their first settlement, and called it, from the name of the river on which it stood, Savannah. In the preliminary operations of felling trees, clearing the ground, and erecting dwellings, Oglethorpe himself joined with cheerfulness and zeal ; and in the intervals between this labour, he exercised his followers in military movements and discipline ; while steps were taken to establish a friendly relation with the Indians then residing here. By the assistance of an Indian female, the wife of a trader from Carolina, who could speak both the English and the Indian tongues, an invitation was conveyed from General Oglethorpe to all the Indian chiefs of the Creek tribe, to hold a conference with him at Savannah ; and they came readily, to the number of fifty warriors, at the time and place appointed. To these, the General represented the great power of the English nation, and pointed out the advantages that would result to the Indians from their friendship and alliance. He added, that as the Indians had much more land than they could occupy, he hoped they

would readily grant a portion of it to the people who had come from so great a distance to settle among them ; and in token of his good-will, he distributed various presents among the chiefs.

To this, the most aged warrior of the tribe, Tomochichi, replied, by giving the assent of himself and all his followers to the request made, while he in turn presented to General Oglethorpe, a buffalo's hide, on which were delineated, an eagle to represent speed, and a buffalo to represent strength, saying, "The English are as swift as the bird, and as strong as the beast ; since, like the first, they fly from the uttermost parts of the earth over the vast seas ; and, like the second, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them." He added, that the feathers of the eagle were soft, and signified love ; the buffalo's skin was warm, and signified protection ; and he hoped that the English would exemplify those attributes in loving and protecting the families of the Indians. He acknowledged that the Great Spirit, which dwelt in heaven and all around, had endowed the English with wisdom and riches, so that they wanted nothing ; while the same Power had lavished great territories on the Indians, who were still in want of everything. He added, that the Creeks would be quite willing to resign to the English, the lands that were useless to themselves, and permit the English to settle among them, so that they might be instructed in useful knowledge, and supplied with improved accommodations of life. A treaty was accordingly concluded by the Indians with the English ; rules for mutual traffic, and the adjustment of mutual disputes, were established ; all lands

then unoccupied by the Indians were assigned to the English, under the condition that the Indians should be previously apprized of the intended formation of every new township ; and they then promised, “with straight hearts, and love to their English brethren,” that they would allow no other race of white men to settle among them in the country.

After the conclusion of this treaty, the building of the dwellings and cultivation of the grounds went on rapidly ; and the settlers were soon joined by two successive arrivals of emigrants, the majority of whom were sent out and equipped at the cost of the trustees in England ; more than a hundred of the number, however, defrayed their own expenses. Having put the little colony in a state of defence, and deputed the direction of its affairs to two deputies, Scott and St. Julian, Oglethorpe made a voyage to England, to promote the interests of the settlement there. In this voyage he was accompanied by the Indian chief, Tomochichi, and his queen, with several of the warriors of their tribe. These were all received in England with great distinction, honoured with entertainments and presents, and introduced to the Court at Kensington.

On this occasion, Tomochichi, presenting some feathers of the eagle to his majesty George the Second, addressed him as follows :—“ This day I see the majesty of your face, and the greatness of your house, and the number of your people. I am come over, in my old days, for the good of the whole nation called the Creeks, to renew the peace they made long ago with the English. Though I cannot live to see any advantage to myself, I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the

Creeks, that they may be instructed in the knowledge of the English. These are the feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and fieth all round our nations. These feathers are a sign of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town there. We have brought them over, to leave them with you, O great king! as a token of everlasting peace. O great king! whatever words you shall say to me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nations." The British monarch returned a gracious answer to this address, and assured the Indians of his protection and regard. After a stay of four months in England, the Indians returned to Georgia, accompanied by a new band of emigrants for the colony, and carried out with them the deepest impression of British intelligence, wealth, and power, to communicate to their red brethren of the forest.

The trustees in England now began to frame a code of laws for Georgia, and these were some of its most prominent enactments. It was provided that each tract of land granted to a settler should be held as a military fief, obliging the possessor to appear in arms whenever called upon for the public defence; and that no original tract should exceed fifty acres. In order to keep up the military hardihood and spirit, and to prevent a plurality of tracts coming, in process of time, into the same hands, and engendering wealth and habits of luxury, it was enacted that males only should succeed to the property of deceased parents; that women should be incompetent to inherit landed estate; and that in the failure of male heirs, the lands were to revert to the trustees as a lapsed fief, to be granted to other colonists on the original

terms. No inhabitant was to be allowed to quit the province without a license, to prevent fraudulent escape of traders dealing with the Indians. The importation of rum was disallowed; trade with the West Indies was declared unlawful; and negro slavery was absolutely prohibited.

The reasons assigned for this last enactment are sufficiently curious to be given in detail. They do not appear to have been founded on any notion of the injustice or inhumanity of slavery, but purely on prudential and selfish grounds. It was thought that the first cost of a negro would be at least £30, and this would exhaust so much of the capital of a poor settler, as to cripple his means in the very outset of his career. It was thought also that the white man, by having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labour himself, and that a great portion of his time would be employed in keeping the negro at work, and in watching against any danger which he or his family might apprehend from the slaves. It was believed that upon the admission of negroes, the wealthy planters would, as in other colonies, be induced to absent themselves to more pleasant places of residence, leaving the care of their plantations to negroes and overseers; and that the introduction of negroes would increase a propensity for idleness among the poor planters also, as well as their families, and thus entirely defeat the object of the settlement, which was to provide for and bring up a race of industrious and prosperous people.

These reasons, satisfactory as they may appear to some, as to the *inexpediency* of negro slavery in such a settlement, to say nothing of its *injustice* anywhere,

made no impression on either the Georgians or Carolinians; the last, especially, were not slow to express their indignation and disgust at laws which indirectly cast so severe a censure on their own institutions. It was easy, of course, to find excuses for negro-slavery, as it is for any other injustice; and accordingly it was alleged "that it was indispensable to the prosperity of the settlement, because the strength of European constitutions, unaided by negro labour, could make no impression on the vast and stubborn forests by which they were surrounded." Upon this Mr. Grahame very justly and forcibly remarks, that "Europeans had now become so habituated to regard negroes as slaves, and to despise them as a servile and degraded race, that it never occurred, either to the trustees or the colonists, that, by an equitable intercourse and association between white men and negroes, the advantage of negro *labour* might be obtained, without the concomitant injustice of negro *slavery*."

In 1735, General Oglethorpe returned from England to Georgia, accompanied by a small party of Moravians, who had accepted a grant of land for cultivation, and an exemption from military service, as, like the Quakers, they refused, on religious grounds, to engage in any war; and like them, also, the preachers as well as the hearers were enjoined to obtain their own subsistence by their labours.

The celebrated John Wesley, and his brother Charles, also accompanied General Oglethorpe on this voyage, as well as several of their religious brethren; and there were no less than three hundred passengers, including one hundred and seventy Ger-

mans of the Moravian society. Their voyage out was long and stormy, as they sailed in October, 1735, and did not arrive till February, 1736; but the manner in which they passed their time, shows that no inconveniences or privations could damp the ardour of the spirit by which they had been animated to undertake this perilous enterprise. The following extract from John Wesley's Private Journal will exhibit this:—

“Our common way of living was this:—from four of the morning till five, each of us used private prayer. From five to seven we read the Bible together, carefully comparing it (that we might not lean to our own understanding) with the writings of the earliest ages. At seven we breakfasted. At eight were the public prayers. From nine to twelve I usually learned German, and Mr. Delamotte, Greek. My brother writ sermons, and Mr. Ingham instructed the children. At twelve we met to give an account to one another of what we had done since our last meeting, and what we designed to do before our next. About one we dined. The time from dinner to four, we spent in reading to those of whom each of us had taken charge, or in speaking to them severally as need required. At four were the evening prayers, when either the second lesson was explained, or the children were catechized and instructed before the congregation. From five to six, we again used private prayer. From six to seven I read in our cabin to two or three of the English passengers, and each of my brethren to a few more in theirs. At seven I joined with the Germans in their public service; while Mr. Ingham was reading between the decks to as many as desired to hear. At eight we met again to exhort and instruct one another. Between nine and ten, we went to bed, where neither the roaring of the sea, nor the motion of the ship, could take away the refreshing sleep which God gave us.”

In the same Journal, he gives the following striking picture of the piety, resignation, and courage of the Moravians who had joined this expedition:—

“ In the midst of the psalm wherewith their service began, the sea broke over us, split the mainsail in pieces, covered the ship, and poured in between the decks, as if the great deep had already swallowed us up. A terrible screaming began among the English ; the Germans calmly sung on. I asked one of them afterwards, ‘ Was you not afraid ? ’ He answered calmly, ‘ I thank God, no. ’ I asked, ‘ But were not your women and children afraid ? ’ He replied mildly, ‘ No ; our women and children are not afraid to die. ’ ”

The importation of such a body of people as these into a colony originally planted by insolvent debtors, where, mingled with the poor and needy, were many desperate and reckless characters, could hardly fail to produce great benefits ; and such, indeed, was the result. About the same period there arrived also in the settlement, a hundred and fifty Highlanders from Scotland. These formed a small town on the river Alatamaha, which they called New Inverness. They also built a fort, which they called Darien, the name now borne by the town itself, which has grown up to be a considerable place. Here they continued to wear the Highland dress, and to preserve their national manners, as among their native mountains, and lived in a state of great industry, independence, and contentment.

The Wesleys, meanwhile, were stationed at Frederica and Savannah, at which they preached ; but the ministry of John Wesley, at the last named place, was so much more rigid than was acceptable to the colonists, that he was obliged to quit it in 1736 for England, where he soon after founded the great sect of the Wesleyan Methodists, that still bear and venerate his name.

Augusta, nearly 200 miles up the Savannah river,

was now begun to be built, and it and Frederica were fortified with artillery from England; but troubles multiplied thickly. War with the Spaniards of Florida threatened the Georgians on the one hand, and the discontent of the Carolinians menaced them on the other; while the dissatisfaction of the Georgians themselves with the restrictions placed on the importation of rum, in which their neighbours traded freely, and with the prohibition of employing negro slaves, which the people of Carolina did extensively, made them impatient and desirous of change.

The only two portions of the settlers who did not share in these discontents, were the Moravian Christians, and the Scotch Highlanders, each of whom pursued their industry, quietly, prosperously and happily. The former body had already made a plantation, which was a model of neatness, comfort, and successful husbandry; they had assisted their poorer and less industrious neighbours, and established a school and mission among the Creek Indians, with the most promising appearance of success. With indefatigable industry and charity they combined the most rigid sense of justice; and before another year had passed, they repaid to the Georgian trustees the money that had been advanced in London, to enable them to emigrate to America;—so that while the more indolent and dissolute of the early settlers clamoured against the prohibition of negro slavery, and declared that without this it was impossible to cultivate their lands or provide for their posterity, the Moravians silently demonstrated, by their successful industry, that slavery was unnecessary; and

the Scotch Highlanders, to their great honour, protested against it, as an *outrage on justice*.

Soon after this, in 1738, war was declared between Great Britain and Spain; and General Oglethorpe, who had in the interim revisited England, sailed for Georgia again, with a regiment of 600 men, and a commission as commander-in-chief of all the forces in South Carolina and Georgia, while the Parliament made an additional grant of £20,000 for military services, and authorized the allotment of twenty-five acres of land to every soldier of seven years' service.

Just at this period, the Spaniards had been successful in exciting the negro slaves of South Carolina to revolt, by proclaiming liberty and protection to all who should seek refuge from slavery in Florida; and the excessive cruelty with which the slaves were then treated in this colony, induced many to become fugitives, and others to take up arms against their masters. The Journal of Charles Wesley contains some striking instances of this; but one or two are selected out of many. He says, "Colonel Lynch cut off the legs of a poor negro, and he kills several of them every year by his barbarities. Mr. Hill, a dancing-master in Charleston, whipped a female slave so long that she fell down at his feet, in appearance dead; but when, by the help of a physician, she was so far recovered as to show some signs of life, he repeated the whipping with equal rigour, and concluded the punishment by dropping scalding wax upon her flesh: her only crime was overfilling a tea-cup! These horrid cruelties," he adds, "are the less to be wondered at, because the law itself, in effect, countenances and allows them to kill their

slaves, by the ridiculous penalty appointed for it. The penalty is about seven pounds, one-half of which is usually remitted if the criminal inform against himself."

This, it may be said, was under British rule, and in colonial times—which is perfectly true; and on Britain be the just reproach of such a state of things. But the same historian very truly adds, "Traces of the cruelty with which slaves were anciently treated in South Carolina have lingered, it must be confessed, till a very late period, both in the laws of this province, and in the manners of its inhabitants. In 1808, two negroes were actually burned alive over a slow fire in the market-place of Charleston; and in 1816, the grand jury reported, 'as a most serious evil, that instances of negro homicide were common within the city for many years; the parties exercising unlimited control, as masters and mistresses, indulging their cruel passions in the barbarous treatment of slaves, and therefore bringing on the community, the state, and the city, the contumely and reproach of the civilized world.'" Here are the facts, and this the language of the jurors of the city in which they occurred, resting on the good authority of Bristed and Warden, two writers of credit in their own country; and therefore the reproach is not confined to the age of British rule, or the days of colonial cruelty.

The dissatisfaction of the slaves in Carolina led many of them to fly to Florida, where a body of about 500 negroes was formed into a regiment, by the governor of that province, with black officers. These were all clothed in the usual Spanish uniform,

placed on a footing of equality with the white troops, and employed in the same warfare—a tolerable proof that the Spaniards did not doubt their *capacity*; while the people of Carolina and Georgia gave equal proof, by their alarms, how much they dreaded the *example*, not only of freedom, but of power, to their own slaves. Soon after this, in 1740, the celebrated George Whitefield visited Georgia, after the two Wesleys had left it. The first object of his mission was to preach the gospel to the Indians. He obtained a tract of land from the trustees, on which he built an orphan asylum, a few miles from Savannah, which was erected at great expense; but it has since been burnt down, and never rebuilt. During his stay here, he interested himself deeply in the amelioration of the condition of the slaves of the adjoining provinces; and one of his first publications in the colony was a letter addressed to the planters of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, on the cruelties inflicted on their negro slaves. At subsequent periods, during his long and frequent visits to America, he invariably advocated the interests of the negroes, and so successfully as to persuade a number of the planters to emancipate their slaves.

A succession of wars and skirmishes with Florida and the Indians followed, and in 1742 Oglethorpe left Georgia for England. He never after returned, though he lived to the age of 102, dying in 1785, and beholding the colony he had founded, separated from the mother-country and declared independent by the American revolution.

Ten years after Oglethorpe's retirement, the charter of Georgia was surrendered to the crown;

at which period, 1752, the whole exports from the colony did not exceed £10,000 of value annually.

A new provincial constitution was given to it by Great Britain; and negro-slavery, hitherto prohibited in Georgia, was forthwith introduced into it, under the *royal sanction*; the restrictions on the importation of rum were also removed. The habits of nearly all classes were at this time remarkably intemperate and extravagant; while hunting, racing, cock-fighting, pugilistic exercises, and gambling, were too common throughout every part of the colony; arising, no doubt, from the combined causes of, first, the number of idle and dissolute persons who were among the early settlers, including even many convicted felons; secondly, the use of slave-labour, which made the whites averse to industrious occupation; and thirdly, the free use of intoxicating drinks, and the consequences always resulting from this vicious indulgence.

A beneficial change was, however, subsequently introduced, by the infusion of a much better class of men, a large number of Quakers having emigrated to Georgia, under the conduct of Joseph Mattock, a public-spirited member of this religious body. This was under the government of Sir James Wright, whose wisdom and liberality were subjects of the highest commendation; and whose example, in the successful cultivation of his own estate, was followed by many then already settled in Georgia, and by others who were induced by this success to come out as new settlers. In 1752, as we have seen, the whole annual exports did not exceed £10,000 in value; in 1763, the exports consisted of rice,

indigo, corn, silk, skins, provisions, and timber, of the value of £27,000; and in 1773, the amount of staple commodities exported was £125,000.

We now approach the period of the American revolution, and find that on the 14th of July, 1774, a public meeting of the citizens of Georgia was held in Savannah for the purpose of considering what constitutional measures might be pursued to resist the arbitrary imposition of taxes on the American people by the British government. From this time onward, the people of Georgia took an active part in all measures to promote the revolution. In 1776, Savannah was attacked by the British, who were repulsed with some loss. In 1777, the first constituted Assembly met in Savannah with a Speaker and other officers, and authorized the raising and equipping a regular land-force. In 1778, another attack was made on Savannah by the naval forces under Sir Hyde Parker, and the military under General Howe; who were then more successful, taking possession of this city, and marching on to Augusta, which they captured also.

In 1779, a French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, appeared off Savannah, containing 21 ships of the line, 8 frigates, and 5 sloops, with 5,000 men. The attack was fierce and long continued, and the defence was obstinate and successful. The number of the killed and wounded on both sides was considerable; but in the end, the French fleet, and the allied army of the Americans that had joined them, were obliged to retire, and leave the British, under General Prevost, still in possession of the fort and city of Savannah. There they continued until 1783, when

the general peace between Great Britain and the United States was ratified; and Savannah being then evacuated by the British, all Georgia was given up to the American government. On this occasion there embarked from Savannah, between the 12th and 25th of July of that year, 1783, about 7,000 persons for various parts of the British possessions, among whom were 1,200 British regulars and loyalists, 500 women and children, 300 Indians, and 5,000 negroes; but a large number of persons attached to the British cause, having property and connexions in this country, continued to remain there, and became legally-constituted American citizens.

From that period up to the present time, Georgia has gone on progressively improving in the development of her resources, the building of cities and towns, and the formation of roads, canals, and steam-boat communication, as well as establishing institutions for the promotion of education; and the advance which it has made may be seen in the progressive increase of her population, and expansion of her exports and imports.

Population at different periods.

In 1749 . . 6,000		In 1800 . . 162,686		In 1820 . . 348,989
1790 . . 82,548		1810 . . 252,433		1830 . . 516,567

And of this last number, taken by the census of 1830, the following were the different classes and proportions:—

White Males, 153,236		Free Coloured Males, 1,256		Male Slaves, 108,946
White Females, 143,378		Free Coloured Females, 1,227		Females Slaves, 108,524

Deaf and Dumb, 147 : Blind, 143 : and Aliens, 86.

Shipments of Cotton and Rice.

The following tabular report, from the Savannah Commercial Register, made up from official documents, will show the extent of the exports from that port alone, in the two articles of cotton and rice, from the 1st of October, 1838, to the 15th of February, 1839 :—

PORTS EXPORTED TO, FEB. 15.	From Oct. 1st, 1838, to Feb. 15, 1839.		
	Sea Island.	Upland.	Rice.
Liverpool	421	41,341	
Other British Ports . . .	150	1,721	650
Havre		5,498	563
Other French Ports . . .		2,518	251
Other Foreign Ports . . .		1,570	
West Indies			2,314
New York	13	26,101	5,693
Philadelphia		3,954	140
Boston		9,552	1,087
Providence		1,612	14
Baltimore and Norfolk, &c.		1,389	480
New Orleans &c.			1,239
Charleston	40	3,686	
Bales	773	98,942	12,436

The following table will show the comparative quantities of cotton exported from the several ports of the United States, within a limited period; by which it will be seen that Georgia greatly exceeds South Carolina in her export of that article, taking Charleston as the index of the one, and Savannah as the index of the other :—

Exported from — 1838				Same period last year.		
	Britain.	France.	Other Ports	Britain.	France.	Other Ports
N. Orleans, Feb. 9	58,597	45,018	3039	145,298	45,871	4731
Mobile, Feb. 9 .	32,302	9,422	1050	25,429	14,654	3574
Charleston, Feb. 8	27,679	20,234	8340	60,093	25,166	9319
Savannah, Feb. 15	43,833	8,067	1570	84,098	13,000	30
Virginia, Jan. 1	1,050	104	4,309	3,000	200
New York, Jan. 30	11,488	10,916	591	29,464	11,098	5290
Other Ports, Jan. 19	2,550	1,334	. . .	19,144	. . .	60
Bales	177,499	94,998	14,697	367,835	112,789	23,204

The State of Georgia, as at present established, since the cession of the large tracts of land given up to the general government, to form the States of Alabama and Mississippi, N. of 31° , amounting to 100,000 square miles, is in length from N. to S. about 300 miles ; in breadth from E. to W. about 200 miles. It contains an area of about 60,000 square miles, or nearly 40 millions of acres ; its latitude being from 30° to 35° N., and its longitude from 80° to 86° W. Like the Carolinas, it has three distinct zones, or belts, of territory ; that on the sea-coast being low, and full of islands and creeks ; that in the centre being dry and sandy, or pine-barrens ; and the westernmost belt being hilly and mountainous, increasing in salubrity as you advance from the sea into the interior.

In this variety of soil and elevation the inhabitants find great advantage ; as cotton and rice are cultivated on the sea islands and the low and swampy flats near the coast ; while in the other parts of the country are produced tobacco, indigo, and fruits. Sugar, also, is raised in the southern section of the State, where the climate is almost tropical ; and there are grown excellent melons, with the orange, lemon, citron, olive, grape, fig, and pomegranate ; while apples, peaches, and plums are the production of the higher region. Among the trees, the live-oak, an evergreen, is most conspicuous, and cedar, red and white, firs or pines, hickory, and white oak, are the most common. The magnolia is seen in large trees in the woods, and flowers of great richness and variety abound in every garden.

The principal rivers are the Savannah, Altamaha, Ogeechee, Satilla, Ockmulgee, Oconee, St. Mary's, Flint, Chattahoochee, Tallapoossee, and Coosa. Some

mineral springs exist in the interior, and are now visited by invalids. Several fine cataracts, or falls, are spoken of in the western part of the State, and valuable gold mines have been lately brought into working; while iron and copper are also found in the mountains; and the making of wine, and the growing of silk, both from the common mulberry and the *morus multicaulis*, are beginning to be carried on as experiments, and with good hope of success.

The government of the State consists of a Governor, and two Houses of Legislature, which meet at Milledgeville, the legislative capital of the State, for a few months in the winter. The constitution of the State, and the election and term of office of its representatives and senators, differ in nothing from that of the other States generally. The governor has a salary of 3000 dollars, or £600 sterling, per annum; while the secretary of state, the comptroller-general, the treasurer, and the surveyor-general, have each only 2000 dollars. The judiciary is divided into ten circuits, with a judge for each circuit; their salaries being each 2100 dollars. These judges are appointed by the legislature for life, or during good behaviour. But there is an inferior court held in each county, composed of five justices, who are elected by the people every five years, and who serve without salary. There is, however, no court of errors, or tribunal of appeal from the decisions of any of the circuit courts, so that the judgment of each is final; and though several attempts have been made to establish such a court, public opinion seems to be against

it, from a conviction that increasing the number of courts and judges, only gives rise to increased litigation and increased expense to the suitors.

The maintenance of the poor is by a "poor-tax," levied on the inhabitants of each county in which any poor are found. But as the slave population perform almost all the laborious duties in agriculture, and as emigrants do not come here from Europe direct in any great numbers, the poor are so few that no returns are ever made of their numbers, or the cost of their subsistence.

Education is well provided for in Georgia. At Athens, in the interior of the State, is a college which has about 200 students. At Columbus, in the same State, is a female college, recently established, and containing an equal number of students; and in each county there is an academy for the higher branches of education. An act was passed, in January of the present year, to establish a general system of education by common schools, by which the academic and poor school funds are to be blended in one, and augmented by occasional grants from the State, to be applied to the promotion of education generally in all its branches. The whole of the schools, academies, and college, are under the superintendence of a board, called the *Senatus Academicus*, composed of the governor and senate of the State and fifteen trustees. These appoint a board of commissioners in each county, of which there are 39, to superintend the academy and common schools in each. In 1817, 200,000 dollars were appropriated by the State legislature, for the establishment of free-

schools, and there are now upwards of 100 academies in the State, besides common schools, increasing in number every year.

Religion is also well supported, and wholly by the voluntary system. There are upwards of 400 Baptist churches and 40,000 communicants. The Methodists have 80 ministers and about 30,000 members. The Presbyterians have 60 churches, the Episcopalians 6; and there are places of worship also for Universalists, Unitarians, Lutherans, Quakers, and Jews; but the last five are among the fewest in number of all the sects. The aggregate, however, makes nearly 600 churches to a population of 600,000 in round numbers; thus keeping up the usual ratio throughout the United States, of a place of worship to every 1000 inhabitants; a larger proportion, it is believed, than that of any other country on the globe; and itself, no doubt, a consequence of the larger proportion of schools and people educated, to the whole community, than anywhere else exists.

The banking capital of the State is considerable, exceeding, it is believed, at the present moment, ten millions of dollars. A large proportion of this, however, is employed in promoting internal improvement in railroads and canals; the result is, that these works are carried on with great vigour, and bid fair to place Georgia on a par with any of the northern States in these respects, within a few years from the present period.

CHAP. VIII.

Description of the city of Savannah—Plan of Savannah—Streets, squares, and public buildings—Private houses, shops, hotels—Churches—Monument to Pulaski—Population, white and coloured—Character and manners of private society—Public ball, social circles, hospitality—Ladies of Savannah—Union of piety and benevolence—Military spirit, volunteers, Washington's birth-day—Youths of the South, premature independence—Early marriages—Contrast of the Old and New World—Desirability of a better order of emigrants.

SAVANNAH, the principal city and sea-port of Georgia, is agreeably and advantageously situated; it was founded, and its plan laid out, by Governor Oglethorpe in 1733; and as his own description of the locality, and the reasons which induced him to select it, are remarkable for their clearness, and interesting from their precision, I transcribe them from an original letter of his writing, dated "From the camp near Savannah, the 10th of February, 1733," and addressed to the trustees who formed the proprietary government then in London.

"I gave you an account in my last of our arrival in Charleston. The governor and assembly have given us all possible encouragement. Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January, where I lodged them in some new barracks built for the soldiers, whilst I went myself to view the Savannah river. I fixed upon a healthy situation, about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms a half-moon, along the south side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country about five

or six miles, and along the river-side about a mile. Ships that draw twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river-side, in the centre of this plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the trustees' cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key (quay) of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river. For about six miles up the river into the country, the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the 1st of February; at night their tents were got up. Till the 10th, we were taken up in unloading and making a crane, which I then could not get finished, so I took off the hands; and set some to the fortification, and began to fell the woods. I have marked out the town and common; half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the afternoon."

It is not often, in the history of cities, that one can obtain such exact and minute information as this from the hands of their founders; but its very rarity increases its interest when it can be obtained, and therefore I venture to add the following, from a letter written soon after by the governor, dated February 20, 1733.

"Our people are all in perfect health; I chose the situation for the town upon an high ground, forty feet perpendicular above high-water mark; the soil dry and sandy, the water of the river fresh, and springs coming out of the side of the hill. I pitched upon this place, not only for the pleasantness of the situation, but because, from the above-mentioned and other signs, I thought it healthy; for it is sheltered from the western and southern winds by vast woods of pine-trees, many of which are an hundred, and few under seventy feet high. An Indian nation who knew the nature of this country chose the same spot for its healthiness."

The city is laid out with the greatest regularity, the streets running in parallel lines with the river

from east to west, and these crossed by others at right angles running north and south. Philadelphia itself is not more perfect in its symmetry than Savannah; and the latter has this advantage over the former, that there are no less than eighteen large squares, with grass-plats and trees, in the very heart of the city, disposed at equal distances from each other in the greatest order; while every principal street is lined on each side with rows of trees, and some of the broader streets have also an avenue of trees running down their centre. These trees are called by some, the Pride of India, and by others, the Pride of China; they give out a beautiful lilac flower in the spring. There are others also, as the live-oak, and the wild cherry, both evergreens, and, when in full foliage, their aspect and their shade must be delightful. Even now, in February, when this is written, the prospect up and down every street in the city, intersected as it is by squares and rows of trees, is peculiarly pleasing, and gives the whole the most rural appearance imaginable.

Along the bank of the river, and on the edge of the bluff on which the city stands, is a long and broad street, having its front to the water, and built only on one side. The part nearest the water is planted with rows of trees, having seats placed between; and this street, which is called "The Bay," is the principal resort for business. The counting-houses, warehouses, and best shops, are along this Bay; the Exchange and Post Office, as well as the city offices, are here; and underneath the bluff, or cliff, are the warehouses and wharfs, alongside which the vessels load with cotton, while the tops of their masts are a

little higher only than the level of the street, the height of the cliff from the water varying from forty to seventy feet.

The city is nearly oblong in shape its greatest length from east to west along the river's banks, being about 5,000 feet, and its depth inward from the river to the land, north and south, about 2,500 feet.

Every part of the town is level ; and the general breadth of the streets varies from 80 to 150 feet. This ensures a thorough ventilation, from whatever quarter the wind may blow ; and, with the fine shade of the trees around, makes it delightful to ride in ; but the whole surface is sand, often as loose and deep as in the Deserts of Arabia, and, after dry weather for any length of time, it is as heavy to walk on as the loosest sand on the sea-shore. It is never removed, so that none of the streets are paved ; but as the sand is heavy, there is not much fine dust blowing about in the air, though it adheres to the clothes of those who walk. The few side pavements that exist are of brick ; but a great portion of the streets are without side pavements at all ; and this increases the distaste for walking much in them, except after a heavy rain, when, instead of mud being created, as in other cities, the walking is much improved, by the sands being hardened and pressed together by the rains, while their absorption of all the moisture that falls, prevents exhalation, and makes the air dry, and the ground firm and compact.

The greater number of the dwelling-houses are built of wood, and painted white ; but there are many handsome and commodious brick buildings occupied

as private residences, and a few mansions, built by an English architect, Mr. Jay—son of the celebrated divine of that name at Bath—which are of beautiful architecture, of sumptuous interior, and combine as much of elegance and luxury as are to be found in any private dwellings in the country. The shops are in general small, and not well provided with goods, though some wholesale warehouses on an extensive scale are found. Of hotels, there are three, the City Hotel, the Mansion House, and the Pulaski ; but as they all belong to the same proprietor, there is no competition among them, and the usual consequences follow—great indifference, and most extravagant charges. The Pulaski, at which we stopped, was the best, and the dearest ;—our party of four, including my youngest son and a man-servant, costing, to board and lodge, without private sitting-rooms, ten dollars per day.

Of public buildings there are not many remarkable ones. The Exchange, Post Office, and City Offices, are all included in a large brick edifice on “The Bay,” surmounted by a tower, and from this is to be had the finest and most interesting view of the city. The Court House is a chaste building, of the Doric order, with portico and colonnade, near the centre of the town. The United States’ Bank, and the Bank of the State of Georgia, are two handsome edifices ; and these, with the Custom House, the Academy, the Theatre, the Public Market, the Arsenal, and the Jail, with some new barracks recently built for the United States’ troops, who are now employed in the Florida war, make up the sum of the public buildings of the city.

Of churches there are ten ; two Presbyterian, one Episcopal, one Methodist, one Baptist, one Roman Catholic, one Unitarian, one Lutheran, and two meeting-houses for coloured people, as well as a synagogue for the Jews, who are here as numerous and wealthy as at Charleston. Of these churches, there is but one that is very conspicuous, and this is the Independent-Presbyterian church, which is really a beautiful structure. It was built by the architect of the two fine churches at Providence, but is larger than either ; its spire is one of the loftiest, lightest, and most elegant that I had yet seen in the country ; its portico is chaste and well proportioned ; and its interior, for vastness, richness, and general beauty of effect, surpasses any place of worship that I remember to have seen in America. It cost 120,000 dollars, and is as substantial as it is elegant.

Of the public monuments there is one in the centre of Monument-square, being an obelisk of stone, on a raised pedestal, erected to the memory of Count Pulaski, a Polish noble, who, like his countryman Kosciusko, and Lafayette of France, took an active part in the war of the American revolution ; and receiving his death-wound in the attack on Savannah, when the fleet of France and army of the United States combined for that purpose, while it was in possession of the British, he died at sea, and was buried in the deep with martial honours.

Another monument is about to be erected in another of the public squares, to the memory of the numerous citizens of Savannah, who, during the last year, perished in the wreck of the steam-ship Pulaski. This vessel was blown up by the bursting

of her boilers, on a voyage from Savannah and Charleston to New York, whither she was conveying about 300 of the members of the most wealthy and influential families of these two cities, on their way to the springs of Saratoga, for health and pleasure, when upwards of 200 were consigned to a premature grave. There is scarcely a respectable family in Charleston or Savannah, that has not to mourn the loss of some friend or connexion by this afflicting event; and all parties have contributed to the erection of a very elegant monument, to commemorate their loss. The design is by a classical artist, Mr. Frazee, of New York; and when executed, it will be a great ornament to the city.

The population of Savannah is estimated to be at present 10,000, of whom about 5,000 are whites, and the remainder mostly slaves, though there are some free coloured people residing here. The white population are chiefly merchants, planters, bankers, and professional men; the laborious trades being all carried on by coloured persons, and nearly all the severe and menial labour is performed by slaves. Like the society of Charleston, this of Savannah is characterized by great elegance in all their deportment; the men are perfect gentlemen in their manners, and the women are accomplished ladies. A high sense of honour, and a freedom from all the little meannesses and tricks of trade, seem to prevail universally among the gentlemen, who are liberal, frank, and hospitable, without ostentation, or much pretence; while the ladies are not only well educated, but elegant in their manners, and mingle with the pleasures of the social circle, much of grace, and

dignity, blended with the greatest kindness and suavity.

The principal causes of this difference from the coldness, formality, and reserve of the north, is, no doubt, partly to be attributed to climate, partly to the different style of living, and a great deal to the circumstance, that as all persons of moderate fortunes live here upon a footing of equality with the wealthiest, there is not that straining after distinction, and the practice of various arts to obtain it, which prevail in cities where the aristocracy is composed of three or four grades, or castes, each anxious to outrival and overtop the other, which begets uneasiness, jealousy, suspicion, and an extraordinary degree of fastidiousness as to the acquaintances formed, the parties visited, and the guests entertained. The graceful ease and quiet elegance of the southern families, make their visitors feel that they are in the society of well-bred and recognized gentlemen and ladies; while in the north, the doubt and ambiguity as to relative rank and position, and the overstrained efforts to be thought genteel, make the stranger feel that he is in the presence of persons new to the sphere of polished society, and labouring under an excessive anxiety about the opinion of others, which makes them a burthen to themselves.

On the second day after our arrival at Savannah, there was a large party given by the gentlemen residing at the Pulaski House, to those families of the city from whom they had received civilities; and to this party, as strangers recently arrived, we were invited. The entire suite of rooms was devoted to

its reception, and there must have been from 300 to 400 persons present. The party was an extremely elegant one in every respect; and we did not remark a single awkward or ill-bred person present. Among the ladies were a great number of very lovely faces, with the peculiarly animated expression of the southern women, in their dark eyes and hair, and soft Italian complexions. They appeared also more healthy, as well as more animated, than their northern countrywomen, and were in general dressed in better taste, less showily and less expensively, but with more simple elegance in form, and more chasteness in colour. A number of naval officers, in uniform, mingled in the party, and many gentlemen came in to town from the plantations to attend it. The dancing was good, the band was wholly formed of negroes, and the supper was in the most unexceptionable style. Altogether, it was one of the most brilliant parties I had seen in the country, and had as much of ease and elegance in it as could be seen in any party of similar numbers in London or Paris.

The social entertainments and family circles which we had the privilege of enjoying in Savannah, were extremely agreeable. As almost every family keeps a carriage, morning and evening visits are rarely interrupted by weather; and, as great cordiality appears to exist among all the residents, so strangers who become known to one family, are speedily introduced to every other. Gentlemen have their convivial meetings at each others' houses, and enjoy their athletic sports in clubs; one of which, the Quoit Club, I visited, and found a number of the members engaged in the healthy and vigorous exercise of

throwing the discus, in which both strength of arm and accuracy of sight was manifested. The game was played after dinner, commencing about three in the afternoon, and lasting till sunset. The ground was about half a mile from the town, under the shade of a cluster of fine trees. Wine and cigars were provided for the members and visitors ; and the use of both is so universal here, that I was the only visiter the members could remember since the club was formed, who had declined to partake of either. It should be added, however, that though wine is universally drank here, and champaigne in abundance, of which the ladies partake as freely as the gentlemen, I saw no intemperance, in the *ordinary* acceptance of that term, or, in other words, no intoxication. Spirit-drinking has been long since discontinued by the gentry, though it was once as frequent as wine-drinking is now ; and when the Temperance Societies of the South shall take the high ground of entire abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, I have no doubt, that after a few years, wine-drinking will become as rare as spirit-drinking is at present.

The ladies of Savannah, though enjoying freely all the pleasures of elegant society, are not behind their countrywomen in the north, in the zeal with which they promote benevolent objects. An Orphan Asylum for the maintenance, education, and putting out to useful occupations, of orphans of both sexes, is chiefly maintained by ladies here ; they have also Sewing Societies, the members of which meet once a week at each others' houses, and occupy four or five hours in needlework, the produce of which is devoted to the support of benevolent objects at home, and

missionary exertions abroad ; they appeared to me religious without being fanatical, and pious without being puritanical ; thus blending elegant and innocent recreation, with charitable and philanthropic undertakings.

The military spirit seems to be as strong in this quarter as elsewhere, and men of all classes delight in military titles, and military displays. The principal banker and the principal bookseller of the city were both colonels ; the hotel-keeper was a major ; and captains abound in every class ; nor do they receive their titles on parade only, but in the everyday address of business and conversation. During our stay at Savannah, the anniversary of Washington's birth-day, February 22d, was celebrated by a military display ; and the companies that turned out on that occasion were well dressed, well disciplined, and had as perfectly martial an air as the National Guards of Paris, to which, both in uniform, stature, and general appearance, they bore a marked resemblance. During their exercises of the day, they fired at a target with rifles, and put in their balls with extraordinary skill. They are habituated to this practice, it is true, from their youth upward, for almost every boy of fourteen or fifteen has a horse and a rifle. Shooting matches are therefore frequent, and in deer-shooting they have almost daily opportunities of trying their aim ; as the wild deer are here so abundant that they are shot in the woods within a mile or two of the town ; and venison is therefore to be seen on almost every table.

The youths of both sexes appear to be brought up in less subjection to parental authority than in

England. The boys are educated chiefly at day-schools: between the hours of school-attendance they are under very little restraint, and do pretty nearly what they like; many carry sticks or canes with them, and some even affect the bravo, by carrying bowie-knives, but it is more for show than use. The young ladies being also educated at day-schools, or at home, have much greater liberty allowed them in the disposal of their time, and the arrangement and control of their visits, than girls of the same age in England. The consequence is, great precocity of manners in both sexes, and often very early marriages. The following is taken from the newspapers of Savannah, and from the *Augusta Sentinel*, of February 20, 1839 :—

“MARRIED—On the 7th inst., by the Rev. S. Gibson, Mr. Hiram Dill, aged 14, to Miss Margaret Ann Langley, aged 13 years, both of Greenville District, South Carolina.”

There are, however, few elopements, or seductions, and domestic infidelity is very rare; so that on the whole, married life appears to be quite as happy as in England; with this great advantage on the side of married life in America, namely, that almost all who marry are in easy circumstances as to fortune, or if not, they are sure to become so, if they exercise only ordinary prudence, because every kind of business is prosperous here, and labour of every description is handsomely rewarded; while in England, there are hundreds of newly-married persons who struggle on from month to month and year to year, with difficulties, arising from competition in the same branch of business, or the same professional career,

which no amount of industry or prudence will overcome, and from which nothing but extraordinary ability, powerful patronage, or that favourable combination of circumstances, called "good luck," will extricate them. The same persons, if they could be transplanted to almost any part of the United States, would not only live at ease for the present, but, by a very slight attention to economy, would be sure of laying up provision for the future; and, above all, would be able to ensure to their children, however numerous, a good education, useful and well-paid employment, admission into good society, and every prospect of an elegant, if not an opulent retirement in old age:—prospects that are but dim and distant to the great majority of the struggling middle classes in England.

I have so often been struck with this since our residence in America, that I have thought it might be worth while to devise some plan by which the governments of the two countries might co-operate to promote the transfer, from various parts of Britain to the United States, not of the utterly destitute, as in the case of emigrants, but of people of small means, but good information, and high moral character among the middle classes. Both countries would benefit greatly by such an operation. England, by lessening the severity of that competition which makes all classes feel they are overstocked with labourers, and can only live by outbidding each other in the smallness of the remuneration they will consent to receive; and America, by the infusion into her growing population, of a much better stock and race than the present emigrants generally are.

CHAP. IX.

Newspapers, instability of editors—Coloured population, comfort of domestic slaves—Visit to a rice plantation, condition of field slaves—Comparison of slavery and free domestic servitude—Anecdote of negro indolence and industry—Absconding slaves and rewards for their capture—Democratic papers most hostile to abolition—Anecdote of American sovereignty in the people—Public rebuke of female abolitionists—Speech of Mr. Clay against abolition—Opinions of different parties on this speech—Amusing peculiarity of American politicians—Excursion to Bonaventure, near Savannah—Public meeting for establishing a “Sailors’ Home”—Ladies’ meeting for promoting Indian and Chinese Missions.

THERE are two newspapers in Savannah, the Daily Georgian, a democratic print, and the Daily Republican, a whig journal. Neither of these are so remarkable for talent or circulation as the Charleston Courier; but, like the Charleston papers, they are untainted by the vituperative language and abusive style of too many of the papers of the north. A third paper was attempted while we were here, called the Daily Telegraph; and though we were only in Savannah a fortnight altogether, we were there long enough to witness its birth and death, for it lived only eight days, and then expired.

The newspapers of the south are much dearer than those at the north; the two established journals here, as well as those at Charleston, selling for 12½ cents, or sixpence sterling per copy, though neither of them are as large as the smallest evening

papers in England, and there are neither stamps, duty on paper, reporters, news collectors, or paid correspondents, as on an English paper of any reputation. A single editor, frequently without any assistant, writes the whole of the original matter, which rarely exceeds a single column, the rest of the pages being made up of compilations cut out from other papers; and as three pages of standing advertisements are usually kept in the journals of largest circulation, there is only a single page of new matter to be set up daily; so that the expense of getting up the whole is very inconsiderable.

Notwithstanding this, the greater number of the country papers in America are far from being profitable; 1000 copies is considered a large circulation; advertising, by the year, is very cheap, though the transient advertisements of the day are as dear as in the country papers of England, a dollar being the usual sum for the shortest. The great cause of embarrassment to newspaper proprietors, is the difficulty of obtaining payments from their subscribers, the amount being small to each individual, scattered over a great extent of country, and costing twice as much labour and expense to collect, as bills of any other kind, not from the inability of parties to pay, but from their indifference and negligence. The plan of obtaining payment in advance is sometimes resorted to, but this is not easy to be secured, from the want of confidence in their stability, as so many papers start with every prospect of success, and are relinquished either for want of means, or want of perseverance, or from something more lucrative having tempted the editor into other undertakings.

The condition of the coloured population, slave and free, excited in me the liveliest interest, as I was anxious to see and judge for myself on this much contested point. Here, as at Charleston, the greatest anxiety seemed to be manifested on all sides as to my opinions on slavery. With some few I could safely venture to let these be known; as they were liberal enough to suppose that a man might, from conviction, be in favour of abolition, without designing any evil to the country; but with the great bulk of the white population here, the name of an abolitionist was more terrible than that of an incendiary, a rebel, or a murderer, and to such it would have been useless to make any observations on the subject.

From all I could perceive or learn, the condition of the domestic servants, or slaves of the household, was quite as comfortable as that of servants in the middle ranks of life in England. They are generally well-fed, well-dressed, attentive, orderly, respectful, and easy to be governed, but more by kindness than by severity.

If the slaves of America were confined to household attendants, I have no doubt that their condition would be very far from miserable; because the master and mistress of a family, and all the younger members of it, feel as natural a pride in having their personal attendants to look well in person and in dress, when slaves, as they do when their servants are free; for the same reason as ladies or gentlemen in England like to have their livery servants handsome and well-dressed, and their carriage-horses sleek, glossy, well-fed, and caparisoned with handsome harness. But when slaves are employed in

field labour, as instruments of producing wealth, or when they are owned by one party, and hired out to another for wages to be received by the owner, then the case is very different, because the object is then, in each instance, to make as much money by them as possible, and turn them, as property, to the most profitable account ; so that the least expense in food and clothing, compatible with keeping them alive and in working condition, leaves the largest amount of gain ; and therefore their personal appearance is no more attended to than that of cart-horses or post-horses, as compared with the attention bestowed on the carriage-horses as a part of the family equipage.

We visited one of the rice plantations in the neighbourhood of Savannah, and saw the condition of the slaves on it with our own eyes. The estate was considered to be a valuable one, and under a fair condition of management, not among the best nor among the worst, but just such an average plantation as we wished to examine. The dwellings for the negroes were built of wood, ranged in rows of great uniformity, raised a little above the ground, each building containing two or more rooms, with a fire-place for two. We saw also the nursery for the children, and the sick-room or hospital for those who were hurt or diseased, and we had communication with the overseer, and several of the people, from both of whom we learnt the following facts, as to their routine of labour, food, and treatment.

The slaves are all up by daylight ; and every one who is able to work, from eight or nine years old and upwards, repair to their several departments of field-labour. They do not return to their houses

either to breakfast or dinner ; but have their food cooked for them in the field, by negroes appointed to that duty. They continue thus at work till dark, and then return to their dwellings. There is no holiday on Saturday afternoon, or any other time throughout the year, except a day or two at Christmas ; but from daylight to dark, every day except Sunday, they are at their labour. Their allowance of food consists of a peck, or two gallons, of Indian corn per week, half that quantity for working boys and girls, and a quarter for little children. This corn they are obliged to grind themselves, after their hours of labour are over ; and it is then boiled in water, and made into hominey, but without anything to eat with it, neither bread, rice, fish, meat, potatoes, or butter ; boiled corn and water only, and barely a sufficient quantity of this for subsistence.

Of clothes, the men and boys had a coarse woollen jacket and trousers once a year, without shirt or any other garment. This was their winter dress ; their summer apparel consists of a similar suit of jacket and trousers of the coarsest cotton cloth. Absence from work, or neglect of duty, was punished with stinted allowance, imprisonment, and flogging. A medical man visited the plantation occasionally, and medicines were administered by a negro woman called the sick-nurse. No instruction was allowed to be given in reading or writing, no games or recreations were provided, nor was there indeed any time to enjoy them if they were. Their lot was one of continued toil, from morning to night, uncheered even by the *hope* of any change, or prospect of improvement in condition.

In appearance, all the negroes that we saw looked insufficiently fed, most wretchedly clad, and miserably accommodated in their dwellings; for though the exteriors of their cottages were neat and uniform, being all placed in regular order and whitewashed, yet nothing could be more dirty, gloomy, and wretched than their interiors; and we agreed that the criminals in all the state-prisons of the country, that we had yet seen, were much better off in food, raiment, and accommodation, and much less severely worked, than those men, whose only crime was that they were of a darker colour than the race that held them in bondage.

It is constantly alleged here, that the condition of the field slaves, though confessedly inferior to that of the domestic attendants, is not worse than that of the labouring population of England; but though this is much worse than it ought to be, it is still greatly above the condition of the slave, even in a physical point of view; while in a moral and intellectual one, the superiority is still more marked. The slave can never be instructed—the law forbids his being taught to read or write, under the severest penalties. He cannot, therefore, ever receive much of moral or intellectual culture, neither can he hope in any way to rise from his present dependent condition; but an English peasant, manufacturer, or artisan, may be taught anything he has a disposition to learn, and may rise to independence at least, if not to opulence; while the *hope* of better days never abandons him, but sheds a ray of light on his path, and comfort around his heart, which the very condition of a slave renders it impossible that he should ever experience.

It is usual here also to say, that supposing the slaves were made free, they would be unable to maintain themselves, and would not work even for their own benefit, as they are incapable of voluntary exertion. Yet in the face of this often-repeated assertion, I learnt here the following facts, and from the same persons that so confidently insisted on the indolence and incapacity of the slaves—

A wealthy planter said to me, “I assure you that these negroes are the laziest creatures in the world, and would never work but by compulsion. Now, I have a fellow on my plantation, who for fourteen or fifteen days past has been complaining of rheumatism, and could not be brought to work for an hour; he was so ill, as he said, as to be unable. On Sunday last, I was walking on the bay, looking down the river, when who should I see but my rheumatic rascal, pulling up in his boat with some things to sell on his own account, the fellow having rowed a distance of fourteen or fifteen miles for a market.” I replied, “The reason is very plain: he was too ill to work for *you*, because he got nothing more by working than by being idle; but he was quite well enough to work for *himself*, because his labour was well rewarded.” “Egad!” said the planter, “but you have hit it; that is no doubt the cause of the difference.” I rejoined, “This is the whole solution of the question; no man will labour for another’s profit with the same zeal that he will for his own; and the difference between the indolent apprentice toiling for his master, and the active journeyman working for himself, is just the difference between the exertions of the slave and the free.” To this no reply was made.

I was further shown instances of coloured persons settled in the town, as carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, barbers, &c. who had acquired property, in materials of trade and houses, and managed their affairs with so much prudence as even to be getting rich, merely because they received the whole of the profits of their labour, instead of its being handed over to a master, who, after maintaining them, pockets the surplus as his own lawful profit.

Instances of hiring out negroes to work, not for their own benefit, but for that of their owners, are common ; and I select, from among a hundred such cases that came every day before the public eye, the following, taken from a single column of a Charleston newspaper, in succession—

“To be hired, three able-bodied experienced Boatmen. Inquire at this office.”

“To be hired, a Boy, a good House-servant, and capable of taking charge of horses. Apply at this office.”

“To hire, a likely Mulatto Boy, fifteen years old, accustomed to House Work. Apply at this office.”

“To hire, a Boy accustomed to waiting about House. Inquire at 43 Beaufain-street, opposite Coming.”

“To Master Tailors.—To hire by the year, at very low wages, a young Fellow who has served six years at the Tailoring Business. Apply at 112 Queen-st.”

“Nurse to hire. A young Wench, of good disposition. Also, two prime young Wenches. Apply at this office.”

These were all negroes, or coloured people, belonging to owners who hired them out to others, and received a profit from their labours, as interest of the capital laid out on their purchase. In the Savannah papers the following appeared—

“Negroes wanted.”—The contractors upon the Brunswick and Alatomaha Canal, are desirous to hire a number of Prime Negro Men, from the 1st October next, for fifteen months, until the 1st January, 1840, or for any term within these dates, not less than twelve months. They will pay at the rate of Eighteen dollars per month for each prime hand. Payments to be made quarterly.

“These negroes will be employed in the excavation of the canal. They will be provided with three and a half pounds of pork, or bacon, and ten quarts of gourd-seed corn per week, lodged in comfortable shantees, and attended constantly by a skilful physician.

“As the Contractors are now making their arrangements for the work of the next year, all those who will be disposed to hire negroes for the coming season are requested to make immediate application, and obtain any further information that may be desired at the office of the contractors in Brunswick.

“J. H. COUPER,

“P. M. NIGHTINGALE.”

It will be seen that there are two strong inducements offered here—high wages to tempt the owner to hire out his negroes, and good living to tempt the men to go readily into such service, if their masters desired them. But it cannot fail to be also seen, that if the men's labour is really worth the eighteen dollars per month, and their provisions besides, it is a positive robbery of their only natural wealth, the labour of their hands, to steal it from their pockets, and place it in that of their owners. It does not require the aid of reading and writing for the negroes to discover this: and the greater part of them are no doubt quite conscious of the injustice thus done to them, though the remedy is beyond their reach. The only thing they can do is to run away, and try to get to some place where they can work for themselves,

and enjoy the profit of their own toil. The following, from a Savannah paper, as one of a hundred such announcements, abundantly proves this.

"One Hundred Dollars Reward will be given for my two Fellows, Abram and Frank, who have absconded, or fifty dollars for either of them, to be put in some secure jail, so that I get them. Abram is a tall, likely black man; Frank, a yellow complected man; he stutters, and has a pleasing countenance; both likely, active men. Abram has a wife at Colonel Stewart's in Liberty County, and a sister in Savannah at Capt. Grovenstine's. Frank has a wife at Mr. Le Cont's, Liberty County, a mother at Thundervolt, and a sister in Savannah. *They will, in all probability be at work on the wharves in Savannah, and on board of vessels.* All persons are cautioned not to harbour or employ them, as no expense will be spared in prosecuting, if proof can be had.

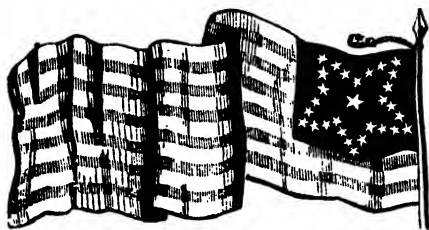
"WM. ROBERTS,

"Walthourville, Liberty Co. Jan. 5, 1839."

This is an announcement, dated from "*Liberty County*," and the object is to arrest and punish those who thought that liberty was better than slavery, and therefore sought the change. As a proof, however, that it was not indolence, or a dislike of labour, which prompted this step, their very owner publicly asserts the probability that they would "be found *working* on the wharves or on board ships," where they would enjoy the fruits of their own labour, instead of its being appropriated to enrich another.

Here, too, as at Charleston, the most democratic papers were most violent in their denunciation of Abolitionism; and the strangest contrast was often observable in the columns of the same paper; one page teeming with proofs of the ultra-democratic or extreme republican views of the editor, and the

other advocating the most uncontrolled despotism over the slave population, and deprecating any interference with the "cherished institutions" and "constitutional rights of the South." The Daily Georgian, for instance, from which some of the advertisements respecting the sale and hire of slaves, and rewards for their apprehension, were taken, has, over its leading article, an American flag unfurled, exhibiting its stripes and stars to the eye, and under it are the following lines, repeated in every day's paper, as the motto of its principles—



“Flag of the Free! still bear thy sway,
Undimmed through ages yet untold;
O'er Earth's proud realms thy stars display,
Like morning's radiant clouds unrolled.
Flag of the Skies! still peerless shine,
Through ether's azure vault unfurled,
Till every hand and heart entwine,
To sweep Oppression from the world.”

In the same spirit, and to keep alive, as much as possible, the democratic sentiment, all anecdotes tending to exhibit this prominent characteristic of American institutions, are highly relished and universally acceptable; such as this, taken from the Charleston Mercury, and repeated in all the papers, probably, of the Union—

"A distinguished American lady, while at Rome, was asked by a Cardinal, if he could have the pleasure of presenting her to the Pope. On her inquiring whether she would be permitted to converse with His Holiness, the Cardinal replied, that she could not; for this was an honour confined to princesses of the blood, the daughters of sovereigns. 'But, sir,' replies the lady, 'I am a princess of the blood, and a daughter of a sovereign; for in America the people are *all* sovereigns, and I am the daughter of one of the people.' His Holiness was so much pleased with this Spartan boldness, that an interview was granted, and the American princess admitted to an honour to which no lady of private station had ever before aspired."

When these American princesses, however, attempt to exercise even the rights of ordinary citizens in their own country, on the proscribed topic of Abolition, they are soon taught, by severe public rebuke, that they are not *quite* so free as they are represented to be, and that their "sovereignty" is very limited indeed. Of this, the following may be taken as proof, from the Savannah Telegraph of February, 1839—

"Abolition in Delaware.—The following brief, but significant report, was lately made in the Legislature of Delaware, by Mr. Jones of Wilmington, an able Democratic member.

"Mr. Jones on Friday presented the following report:—

"The Committee, to whom was referred the petition of 319 women of the city of Wilmington and county of New Castle, praying for the Abolition of Slavery throughout this State, beg leave to report—

"That they consider the petitioning of women, to our National and State Legislatures (which they regret to see is becoming so general a practice) as derogatory from that refinement and delicacy which should, under all circumstances, accompany the female character, and as an unwarranted interference in subjects that should more properly belong to their fathers, husbands. or brothers

“ Your Committee are also decidedly of opinion, that the petitioners whose names are affixed to the memorial under consideration, would confer more real benefit upon society, if they hereafter confined their attention to matters of a domestic nature, and would be more solicitous to mend the garments of their husbands and children, than to patch the breaches of the laws and Constitution.”

It was during my stay in Savannah that the speech of Mr. Clay, the Whig candidate for the Presidency at the next election, was published in the newspapers, and made matter of universal comment and conversation. It was delivered in the Senate of the United States on the 7th of February; and, both from the importance of the subject, and the position of the speaker, it was made the subject of eulogy, or censure, in almost every paper of the Union. Mr. Clay is the most prominent of the Whig leaders in Congress; but of late there had been some doubt as to the part he would take on the subject of Abolition. The friends of this doctrine in the North, belonging to the Whig party, had begun to indulge hopes that he would be with them; and many sincere Abolitionists were on this ground added to the ranks of his supporters for the next presidency. But he found by experience that he lost more friends in the slave-holding States, than he gained supporters in the free States, by this temporizing conduct; and discovered, also, that General Harrison, his rival Whig candidate, was gaining on him in many quarters. It is remarkable, too, that Mr. Van Buren's only hope of re-election to the presidency, was from his retaining the support of the South, by his opposition to negro-emancipation: they like his democracy well enough, but they like his determined opposition to the Abolitionists much

better. For any one to compete successfully with Mr. Van Buren for the presidency, it was indispensable that he should be as zealous an opponent of Abolition as the reigning president, or he would be deserted by the entire South, and consequently lose his election. This late movement of Mr. Clay, to proclaim his horror of Abolitionists, and their views and practices, is believed, therefore, by many to be a mere political manœuvre, and as such is denounced by most of the friends of the doctrines he espouses. As this is a very instructive lesson on the subject of American politics and politicians, I have selected for insertion here, three of the shortest and most striking comments on this speech, from the papers of the day. The first is from "The Constitutionalist," of Georgia, a very moderate and impartial journal; the editor of which says—

"We have read the speech of Mr. Clay on the Abolition question. The influence of his name will be felt, and the position he has assumed will have the salutary effect of neutralizing the efforts of the most fanatical of the Abolitionists to disturb the harmony of the Union, and the peace of the country. With pleasure then we receive the declarations of Mr. Clay on that deleterious question.

"We shall not question the sincerity of the declarations of Mr. Clay; but it must be permitted to us to express our surprise at the late period at which these declarations are made. Can it be possible that it is only a few weeks ago that Mr. Clay has formed an opinion on that important topic of the day? Why were not these declarations, and the expression of his opinion, made years ago? If he had taken two years ago that position which he now has assumed, the influence of his name would have prevented the angry feelings which sprung up in the South against a portion of our Northern brethren; because many of those Northern Whigs, friends of Mr. Clay, would have paused and reflected, before con-

necting themselves with the Abolitionists. Silence on the part of that gentleman has, no doubt, increased the number of those deluded-citizens, especially when he was charged with an indirect support of the scheme proclaimed for the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia and in the South. This charge was never publicly denied by Mr. Clay, until recently. Why then is the charge now denied? Is it to allay the excitement, which, by his silence, he has contributed to create? Is it to verify the charge alleged against him by one of the Georgia senators? If Mr. Clay believes that he will reap in the South all the benefits which he calculates on by his recent declarations, he will find himself greatly mistaken. The people of the South will not abandon men who have stood with them in defence of Southern institutions and Southern rights, when those institutions and those rights were assailed, for a man who stood aloof when the South wanted friends, and who, now that he finds it of necessity to propitiate this section of the Union, comes at the eleventh hour, and claims the same reward, for a labour which interest, perhaps, has induced him to perform."

The official organ of the government at Washington, the "Globe," deals with the speech in less measured terms, and speaks more truly the general feeling of the democratic party. The following is the article from that journal—

"In the senate to-day, Mr. Clay appeared in a new part. For some years past he was one of those who saw no harm in the Abolition movements. His biographer, Mr. Prentice, of the Louisville Journal, in his sketch of his life, has taken pains to varnish up for display in the light of Northern philanthropy, Mr. Clay's early Emancipation principles. This, Mr. Clay carefully kept alive himself, by proposing to set apart, in his distribution of the public lands, a portion to carry out this scheme. In 1836 he voted against the effort made by the administration to prevent the circulation of incendiary prints in the South, tending to excite insurrection; and even as late as the last session, he voted against Mr. Rives's resolution, throwing cold water on the firebrand petitions continually sent into Congress. But, to-day

what a sudden change we have had in all the senator's courtesy, kindness, and forbearance for Abolition—no sudden flaw of our variable city weather equals it. During the first part of the session Mr. Clay dodged every vote, and avoided, by a retreat behind the columns, any expression of opinion about the reception of Abolition petitions; but to-day he brought in an anti-abolition petition, and never was a party so belaboured in a set speech of some hours, as the fanatics! fanatics!! He denounced them all, and did not spare even the fair spinsters of the East. He conjured them to remember, that when with their fair hands they dipped their pens in ink to sign an Abolition petition, they dipped them in blood! He exhausted his pathos in portraying "conflagrated cities," "desolated fields," and scenes of "butchery and murder." There was not a man in the senate who did not see through this new act of the drama, the moment the curtain rose. Mr. Clay finds Harrison has the start of him with the Abolition-Antimasonic-Whigs."

The most able and influential of the southern papers, the "Charleston Courier," is so much more enamoured of Mr. Clay's anti-abolitionism, than it is displeased with his Whig principles, that it is lavish in his praise; and if the "Washington Globe" speaks the probable sentiments of the great bulk of the democratic party, and the "Georgia Constitutionalist" embodies the views of the more moderate of the Southern politicians, the Charleston Courier, no doubt, represents, with greater accuracy than either, the feelings and opinions of the slave-holding States, and its language is therefore important, as the index of the policy which that party are determined to preserve. The editor, Mr. Yeadon, is a gentleman of the bar, eminent in his profession, estimable in his character, sincere in his opinions, and independent in his expression of them; and all

these qualities give force and value to the productions of his pen. These, then, are the terms in which he speaks of Mr. Clay's speech—

“ Mr. Clay's Speech.—¹We have given a hurried perusal to Mr. Clay's great anti-abolition speech in the American senate: and we will lay it before our daily readers as soon as our crowded columns will permit. It crowns its author with glory, and gives him new claims to the name and fame of a true and fearless patriot, and to the warm gush of Southern gratitude. The political tenets of the South may forbid it from ever supporting Mr. Clay for the presidency, but let it not deny him the meed due to his patriotism and fidelity to the Constitution. Twice before, namely, on the Missouri question and on the Tariff compromise, has he played the noble part of pacificator of the Union, and he has now literally swept Abolition from its moorings and coverts, dis severed it from the right of petition and other adventitious aids, and held it up, in isolated edium, to the scorn and indignation of the republic, leaving its frenzied advocate, the notorious Morris of Ohio, nothing but the sneers of the august and enlightened assembly he dared to insult with his treasonable balderdash.

“ He divides the Abolitionists into three classes:—those who oppose slavery on grounds of humanity and philanthropy, and do not shame their profession by traitorous plottings, and conspiracies against the tranquillity of the South and the peace of the Union;—those who are misled into seeming co-operation with Abolition, by the false issue raised on the right of petition;—and those who recklessly and wickedly pursue their bad purpose, in utter disregard of the rights of property, the provisions of the Constitution, the rights of the States, and the preservation of our Union, and its glorious system of government;—and each class receives its due appreciation. An excoriating allusion is made to O'Connell, as the plunderer of his own country, and the libeller of a kindred people; and Mr. Stevenson is held pardonable for being made to swerve from his propriety by virtuous and patriotic indignation against the wretch. The mingling of Abolitionism with the politics of the country receives the just and stern rebuke, and is held up as an alarming symptom of the times. A rapid survey is taken

of the three prominent eras of Abolitionism in our republic. Simultaneously with the first operation of the federal constitution, it broke ground in the halls of the national legislature, by the process of petition, and a temperate and well-reasoned report reduced the Abolitionists themselves to reason, and quieted the country. Next, the Missouri question shook the Union with fearful motion ; but the spirit of compromise, which dictated the Constitution, was again invoked, and we escaped the peril. The third epoch includes the last few years and the present time.

“ This last excitement is the result of the stimulus given to the spirit of Abolition by British West India emancipation, an example inapplicable in all its aspects, political, social, and statistical, to this country ; and the evil influence has been heightened and aggravated by those who would stake the peace and glory of their country on the hazard of the die, in the game of politics. Abolition in the district of Columbia, it is argued in a masterly and convincing manner, would be a violation of the public faith, implicitly pledged to Virginia and Maryland, when they ceded the district to the Union for a seat of government, and an unjust and dishonest perversion of the grant of exclusive legislation over the district to the national legislature. Abolition in Florida, it is insisted with equal force, would be in violation of the Spanish treaty of cession, and a trampling under foot of the Missouri compromise. The prevention of the removal of slaves from one state to another, is shown to be the result of a *destructive*, and not a *conservative* construction of the power to regulate commerce among the several States, and to be concluded by the constitutional recognition of slaves as ‘ property.’ And the clause relating to the migration and importation of slaves, is proved to refer to the *introduction* and not the removal of that description of persons. Mr. Clay denounces the Abolitionists as aiming at universal emancipation ; he shows that on the principles of the British example, their scheme would require, to carry it out, an indemnity of *twelve hundred millions of dollars*, which they ought to begin by raising, to pay the despoiled South. He demonstrates the malign workings of Abolitionism on the interests of the slaves themselves, by checking the efforts of benevolence for the melioration of their condition ; and closes with an eloquent, touching, and heart-stirring appeal to

all parties in Congress, and all classes of his fellow-citizens, to resist the evil spirit of Abolitionism, rally around the constitution, and preserve the peace and tranquillity of the country.

“ When Mr. Clay sat down, Mr. Calhoun, with honourable liberality, rose, and said he had heard the speech of the senator from Kentucky with the greatest pleasure. He thought it would have great effect. The work, said he, is done ! Abolition is no more ! The South is consolidated !

“ Nor do we quarrel with him, that he should have added,

‘ *Quorum pars magna fui.*’

One of the most amusing peculiarities of American politicians, is the extraordinary effects which they predict, or proclaim, of the delivery of remarkable speeches. Mr. Calhoun says, “ Abolition is no more.” “ The work is done ;” and his admirers throughout the South will reiterate this sentiment in their several journals and meetings for a few weeks, when they will discover that Abolition is as fresh and vigorous as ever, and they will then be proposing new checks to keep the monster down. Though they exclaim, “ and thrice we slew the slain,” yet, after this threefold death, the demon rises again into stronger life than ever ; and every subsequent death only makes his resurrection the more certain. It was during the last session of Congress only, at Washington, that Mr. Calhoun made a speech, in which he denounced Mr. Clay in such terms as induced the Washington editor of the “ Chronicle” to say that Mr. Clay was “ annihilated,” and to predict that his name would never again be mentioned but as an “ object of ridicule and scorn ;” yet, in twelve months afterwards, his very denouncer is the same individual who rises to do him honour ; so short-sighted are political predictions,

and so transient in duration are the most powerful political harangues.

During our stay at Savannah we enjoyed a pleasant excursion to a spot in the neighbourhood, called Bonaventure, the drive to which is among pine-trees and live-oaks, and over a road of deep sand, with here and there a magnolia-tree, of large size and noble proportions, mingling with the other inhabitants of the forest, and a variety of beautiful flowering shrubs, giving great richness to the foliage of the woods.

I attended here three meetings connected with benevolent objects, at which I was solicited to take part in the proceedings ; and the result of each was extremely satisfactory.

The first of these was a meeting of the inhabitants of Savannah, to consider the claims of seamen on the sympathies of their fellow-countrymen, and the desirability of erecting for them a " Sailor's Home," in the shape of a boarding-house, adapted to their accommodation, with a union of comfort, economy, and sobriety, in a greater degree than are to be found in the existing establishments in which they are lodged and boarded on shore. The meeting was held in the large Presbyterian Church of Savannah, and was crowded to excess, there being, it was thought, at least 2,500 persons present, and many were unable to get in for want of room. After a suitable hymn and prayer by the pastor of the church, and the minister of another congregation in the city, I occupied the remainder of the evening by an address from the pulpit, on the subject for which the meeting was convened, enumerating the peculiar disadvantages under which seamen laboured, showing the numerous

temptations by which they were beset on every side, and pointing out the means by which their situation might be greatly improved, through the establishment of a "Sailor's Home," on the plan of those at Boston, New York, and other maritime cities; to which might be added a library and reading-room, a school for navigation, play-grounds for athletic sports, a savings-bank for their wages, and a store for the supply of cheap and well-made clothing. I cited the example of New Bedford, in raising, by a small tax on her tonnage, the sum of 10,000 dollars to build such a Home; and of Charleston, in raising a similar sum by a small tax on the rice and cotton shipped at her port. As the church, in which this address was delivered, had cost 120,000 dollars, which was furnished by the subscriptions of one sect only in the town, I appealed to the audience, as members of all the different sects in Savannah, whether they would suffer the reproach of being unable or unwilling to raise so small a sum as 10,000 dollars from their whole body, for so good and useful a purpose as that of building this "Sailor's Home," which when once erected, would maintain itself. The audience appeared to be deeply interested; and at the close of an address of about two hours, there was more of excitement and interest manifested than is usual in American audiences, especially in a place of worship, and on a Sabbath evening. I had the happiness of being assured also by those competent to judge, and sufficiently impartial to be relied on for their accuracy, that a deep impression had been made in favour of the undertaking advocated, and that the shipowners and merchants of Savannah

would no doubt see it carried forward and completed without delay.

The second meeting that I attended was at one of the largest and most splendid private residences in Savannah. It was held in the morning, at eleven o'clock, and consisted entirely of ladies, with the exception of a young Missionary, who had recently returned from India, China, and the Isles of the Pacific, in which he had laboured as a minister for several years. The ladies composing the meeting were members of a Society for promoting Education and Christianity among the Females of the East, and the object of their assembling was to hear from the young Missionary and myself, some details respecting the condition of women in Asiatic countries, and the probable success of any measures that might be taken to promote their elevation and improvement. The meeting was opened by reading a chapter of the Bible, and this was followed by prayer, after which, I spoke for about half an hour on the subject proposed, and answered various questions during another half hour. After this, the young Missionary gave some interesting details respecting the countries he had visited, the state of females there, and the probable success of the benevolent efforts of his countrywomen for their relief. The ladies at this meeting comprised members of the principal families of Savannah; they were all occupied with needle-work during the greater part of the time, and I learnt subsequently that this was in conformity to a rule of the Society—that work to a certain amount in value should be done by every member at their meetings during the year, and the proceeds applied to the

objects of the Society in aid of its funds. Every one seemed earnestly interested, and the morning was most agreeably occupied.

The third meeting that I attended was on the last evening of our stay in Savannah ; namely, Sunday the 24th of February, when, at the request of some of the leading friends of the Temperance cause in the city, I delivered an address from the pulpit of the large Presbyterian church, to an audience of about 1,500 persons, giving a sketch of the rise, progress, and present state of the reformation in England, adding to this, various facts to prove the great utility of Temperance Societies, and advocating their being formed on the principle of total abstinence from all that can intoxicate, as the only certain preventive against the evils of intemperance.

Upon the whole, our stay in Savannah was as agreeable as any that we had yet made in either of the cities of the United States, and our enjoyments were unalloyed by a single drawback. Our only regret was that an intercourse so pleasurable as that which we had enjoyed with its intelligent and hospitable families, should be of such short duration, and so suddenly broken off. Every family on whom we called to take leave, evinced sincere regret at our departure, and we felt as though we were separating from friends of long standing, instead of two short weeks' acquaintance.

CHAP. X.

Embarkation in the steam-boat for Augusta—Sir Walter Raleigh's mound, raised by the Indians—Singular juxtaposition and contrast of names on the river—Settlement of Purisburgh by the Swiss—Trees and flowering shrubs of the forest—Alligators, snakes, birds, and wild animals—Vegetable moss in festoons of drapery on the trees—Rafts descending the river—Stations for firewood—Southern integrity—Superstition of African negroes—Vicissitudes of temperature—Steam-boat in the woods—Indian corn, ample returns—Cotton factories, slave-labour used—Arrival at Augusta.

ON Monday, the 25th of February, we left Savannah for Augusta, in the steam-packet, "Thorne." The morning was extremely disagreeable—a heavy rain descending in torrents, and the river being so covered with fog as to make it difficult to see the opposite bank. The temperature, however, was mild, as the wind was from the S. W. We left the hotel at nine o'clock in the morning, having previously sent on our baggage by two negro slaves from the house; but on reaching the vessel we had the mortification to find that only one portion, and that the least important, had reached its right destination, the other having been carried off, by mistake, to the "William Seabrook," another steamer just on the point of starting for Charleston, and lying at another wharf nearly a mile distant. By a great effort of speed, our servant arrived at the wharf just in time to prevent its embarkation; and we were thus saved, by a

hair's-breadth only, from one of the most disagreeable incidents of a steam-boat voyage.

As we pursued our way up the Savannah river, we found our small boat well adapted to its navigation; she was about 150 tons measurement, was propelled by low-pressure engines of 55 horse-power, and drew only $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet water; so that we glided along at a rate of more than ten miles an hour; but the vibratory motion of so much force on her slender frame, rendered it difficult to write with steadiness. Her accommodations were excellent; the ladies having their range of cabins below the main deck, with windows sufficiently above the water to be kept constantly open; the gentlemen's cabins being above the deck, double-berthed, with a window in each bed-place. Everything was remarkably clean, the captain obliging and attentive, and the steward's department and table well conducted.

The tide, which rises about six feet at the bar of Savannah, does not extend its influence much above the city; so that the current of the river, now running about four miles an hour, was against us, and yet we made good ten miles an hour by the land; so that our rate of speed must have been fourteen miles an hour through the water.

The first place of interest that we passed, was a spot called "Raleigh's Mound," raised, it is said, by the Indian chiefs of the olden time, to commemorate the visit of Sir Walter Raleigh, and the "talk" which they held with that distinguished navigator on this spot; and from the history of that period, there is no room to doubt the accuracy of this tradition. This is about three miles above Savannah.

On looking along the course of the river, as delineated on the map, it was curious to see the juxtaposition, and contrast of the names given to places on or near the stream. For instance :—Ebenezer is immediately followed by The Frying-Pan ; Blanket Point, Poor Robin's Cut, and Saucy Bay, follow next in succession. Higher up are Dog's Ferry and Tinker's Cut ; Augusta and Hamburgh are opposite to each other ; and still farther up the river, Petersburg and Vienna are close neighbours ; whilst Edinburgh and Abbeville are not far off.

About eleven o'clock we passed the small settlement of Purisburg, on the Carolina side, originally settled by Swiss peasants, of whose descendants a few only remain ; and about one o'clock, we passed the village of Ebenezer, an old settlement of the Germans, of which there are few left ; the church and a small cluster of humble dwellings are all that remain of the town, Augusta and Savannah having drawn off its inhabitants by the superior facilities for commerce which they afford.

On our way up beyond this, we found the river lined on both sides with thick woods, approaching close to the stream, and having no open spaces for cultivation. This is owing to the frequent submersion of all the banks by floods ; for though the river is less than a quarter of a mile in average breadth, when confined within its proper bed, the waters rise from a height of ten feet, their present depth in mid-channel below, to thirty feet, after heavy rains ; and the river is then expanded over a breadth of three miles, covering all the low trees and bushes, and entirely submerging the land.

Among the trees, the most prominent were the evergreen live-oak, and the pitch-pine; but with these were intermingled the white-oak, the sycamore, the birch, the beech, the cypress, the gum-tree, and the willow. The misletoe was seen in great abundance on many of the trees, and cane-brakes were here and there interspersed near the banks of the stream; while the myrtle, the calmia, the grape-vine, the wild honeysuckle, and the magnolia, with many other flowering trees and shrubs, gave a rich promise of beauty in the more advanced season of spring. •

Alligators frequent this river, and one or two were seen by us on our way, but almost lifeless, as they remain torpid during the winter. In the hot summer months they are seen in great numbers at every mile of the stream, and especially in the sweeps or bays occasioned by the serpentine turnings of the river, which are unusually tortuous and frequent. The alligators never attain to a greater length than twelve feet, and are not at all dangerous to man, from whose approach they invariably fly. It is said that they devour and feed upon their own offspring; and it is from this that many account for their not increasing very much; since, in their retreats, or nests, called alligator-holes, as large a brood as a hundred are seen at a time; but they do not come to maturity, as the numbers remain nearly stationary through a series of years, or diminish rather than increase. Snakes are found in the cane-brakes also; and some of these, particularly the rattle-snake, are formidable. The turkey-buzzard preys upon the

carriion along the river's banks; while wild turkeys and wild ducks are in sufficient abundance to furnish game for food.

The mocking-bird, and the red bird or Virginian nightingale, are each inhabitants of these woods, and often enliven the solitude with their songs; and the little kingfisher, with its pencilled and golden hues, dazzles and sparkles along the bushes which overhang the stream, perching sometimes on the same branch with a terrapin or small turtle, that has just emerged from the river to take the air, and both within a few inches of the surface of the stream. There are many animals in the woods: wild deer, wild hogs, and wild horned cattle. As these lands all belong to private individuals, though not yet cleared or appropriated, there is an annual slaughter, or *battu*, by men employed for the purpose of shooting them, and the spoil is divided among the proprietors of the woods in which they are shot.

The shad is the only fish found in great numbers in the river. These resemble the salmon in some respects; they are shorter and broader in shape, have larger scales, and their flesh is white; but in substance and flavour they are quite equal to the salmon, though not so rich. They are a salt-water fish, and come in from the sea to enter the stream for the purpose of depositing their spawn. They are not found in any of the rivers north of the Potomac, at Washington, nor south of St. John's river, at St. Augustine; but within this range of latitude, from 30° to 40°, they abound from the middle of February to the end of March. They enter no rivers

but such as have falls or rapids ; and it is said they instinctively turn aside from the mouths of all streams whose head-waters are in marshes, and where no rapids or falls exist. The shad entering the Savannah river go up as far as the falls above Augusta, where they are taken in greater numbers than below, though everywhere along the river they are easily caught by the net.

In the extremely tortuous and winding course taken by the river, the actual distance from Savannah to Augusta is 250 miles by the stream, though not more than 120 by the land journey. In the bends and turnings thus occasioned, there are a succession of small bluffs, pointed promontories, and sweeping little curves or bays, alternating on either side ; for it almost uniformly happens that when there is a bluff or cliffy bank on the one side of the stream, there is a marsh or swamp on the opposite side, and *vice versa*. There are some small islands in the middle of the stream, and the land has gained in some places and lost in others, while the whole bed of the river appears to be somewhat elevated above the surrounding country, as is the case with most streams that carry along in their course much alluvial deposit. In some of the bluffs or cliffs, there are seen horizontal strata of fossil shells, on beds of yellow clay, superimposed by sand and light loam ; but these cliffs, if so they may be called, are rarely more than twenty or thirty feet high.

On the greater number of the trees in the thick woods that border the stream, are seen festoons of the vegetable substance called moss, it being, indeed, a parasitic plant which attaches itself to the trees, grow-

ing in the air without roots, and hanging in wreaths or festoons from branch to branch. It is most abundant on the cypress, but is seen also on the acacia, the gum tree, and many others. The colour is a dull dark grey, and the whole aspect is gloomy and melancholy, especially as it is found most abundantly in low, marshy, and unhealthy situations. It produces a small flower, of the colour of the peach blossom, and has very fine seeds, which so multiply the plant, that the whole forest for miles in succession seems clothed in this mourning drapery, the effect of which is very singular to an European eye. While fresh, it is used as food for horses and cattle, like hay; but it lives only while the tree on which it hangs is living; and as soon as the tree dies it perishes with it. The deer and other wild animals of the forest feed on it also. A method is in use of preparing it, after the manner of hemp rotted by water, by which process the outer coating of the plant is decomposed, and the inner fibre remains, resembling horse-hair, being strong, dark, and elastic. In this state it is used for mattresses, it being very agreeable to lie on, and is in general use. The same material is used also for stuffing saddles and horse-collars, and making into rope for harness, and large quantities of it are now exported to Europe, for stuffing sofas and chairs, while it is substituted for horse-hair by many upholsterers, saddlers and coachmakers.

In our voyage up the river we met several large rafts of timber, floating down with the stream, guided by two men, one at each end, with a large rude oar; and a small hut built on the centre, for the cooking. Several of these had forty or fifty bales of

cotton as freight ; though by such a mode of conveyance it was very likely to get wetted. I learnt, however, that this was very little thought of, as not more than one bale in fifty of all the cotton in Georgia was under cover to protect it from rain. It frequently happens that when the raft takes the ground, the cotton bales are thrown overboard and float in the river till the raft is got off, when they are picked up and taken on board again ; the water does not penetrate more than an inch beyond the surface, and this soon dries up. More than one-half of the whole crop produced in Georgia, is transported down to Savannah for shipment by this river.

During our passage we halted several times at fixed stations to take in a supply of wood, as this is the only fuel used for the steam-engines. There was rarely any person at these stations in charge of the wood, or to superintend its delivery, labour being too dear to be so appropriated ; but there is placed on a pole a small box, into which the person who takes the supply of wood he requires, is requested to deposit an order for the payment on Augusta or Savannah, relying on his honesty to enter the exact quantity he takes away. Once a week these orders are collected by a clerk, who visits the station, and takes out the papers deposited in the box. The price of such wood, hewn into pieces of a convenient size, and piled up in cords, is three dollars per cord ; and the boats that ply on the river being well known, there is rarely or ever any difficulty about the supplies or payment.

On the Carolina side, on our right hand, we

passed a station called "The Willow Oak Spring," where a fine spring of beautifully clear water is found very near the river ; but some traditional stories of ghosts being connected with this locality, the negroes, who are very superstitious, have great dread in passing it at night. Many of the negroes now in this country are of African birth. The direct importation of slaves from Africa did not cease till long after the revolution ; and some, therefore, of these imported slaves still survive, retaining many of their idolatrous notions and practices, and nearly all their native superstitions.

The whole of the day continued to be damp and foggy, though the rain had abated ; and at night the fog rested so thickly on the river, though all was clear above, that it was difficult to see our way. The steersmen, of whom there were two, each skilful pilots, were often puzzled to keep in mid-channel, and were frequently obliged to lessen our speed to avoid running on shore ; but with these occasional interruptions only, we continued to run all night.

On the following morning, February 26th, the weather was clear, and the sun shone out with all his brightness. The weather, too, was as warm as in an English summer, though on the preceding day it was so cold as to make a fire agreeable in the cabin. These vicissitudes are common here ; and one gentleman of our party assured us that last winter he had been in Augusta, when at twelve o'clock at night the air was quite close and sultry, and the rain descending freely ; and at sunrise on the following morning, the whole country was bound in frost, the water in his bed-room being hard frozen.

Another added, that in 1835, the year in which all the orange-trees in Georgia and Florida were killed by the cold, and have never since revived, the thermometer at Augusta fell to 8° below zero ; but on the average of several years, the range of the thermometer is found to be from 20° , the lowest, in January and February, to 90° , the highest, in July and August.

About thirty miles before we came to Augusta, we passed a steam-vessel lying high and dry in the woods, where she had grounded during a high flood among the trees, and had never been got off since. Just above this, at a wood-landing, called Silver Bluff, were several houses, one of which, near the river, on the Carolina side, was of two stories, the lower half of brick and the upper half of wood ; but all of them were uninhabited.

It has been found here, as in the great river of the Mississippi, that the bluffs, though originally chosen for places of residence from their elevation, are not so healthy as the lower lands. This is accounted for by their exposure to the miasma arising from the swamps on the opposite side of the river. Purisburg and Ebenezer were both seated on such bluffs, and have never grown into any size or importance ; and even Savannah was for many years extremely unhealthy, until the marsh lands opposite to it were purchased by the city, and drained and devoted to a dry culture of the cotton plant, instead of the rice formerly grown there.

As we approached nearer to Augusta, the signs of cultivation began to appear nearer the river's edge, and through openings in the woods we could per-

ceive cattle grazing, and Indian corn lands lying in stubble. The soil here is peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of this grain, it requiring about a bushel and half to sow an acre, and the returns yielding sixty bushels at least, and often more.

Still nearer to Augusta, and on the Carolina side, is a stream of fine clear water, emptying itself into the river with great force. It is called Horse Creek; and some few miles upward, on its banks, are seated two cotton factories, worked by water-power, at a place called Vacluse. They have been established about nine years, and are considered prosperous and profitable concerns. They are principally devoted to the spinning of cotton yarn, though some weaving of coarse cotton cloths is done in them also. The labourers employed are chiefly negro slaves, especially women and girls; and under the direction of a few white superintendents, or overseers, they are found to perform their duty very well.

About noon on the second day of our voyage from Savannah, we came in sight of Augusta, which, with its dwellings, spires, and bridge, presented a promising appearance on a bluff, or high land, like Savannah, and on the same side of the river, namely, the S.W. or on the left hand as you sail up the stream. At one, we reached the landing-place, having been about twenty-seven hours, or twenty-five deducting the stoppages, performing a distance of 250 miles against a current of four miles, thus making an actual rate of fourteen miles an hour all the way.

CHAP. XI.

Plan of the city, spacious streets—Public buildings—Liberty Pole—Churches, population, manners of society—Medical college—Jail, discipline—Academy, free school, ladies' seminary—Theatre, library—Mild treatment of slaves—Cotton factories, Irish emigrants—Bridges, railroads, and iron steam-vessels—Falls of the Savannah—Trappers at the rapids—Snow-hill and Campbelltown—Search for hidden treasures—Exhaustion of the soil by the cotton crops—Lottery for lands vacated by the Cherokee Indians—Wood near the river—Grape vines—The opossum and racoon—Prickly pear, wax plant—Hamburgh—Liberty hill—Slave-breeding in Virginia for Southern markets—Prohibition of all public discussion on Slavery—Efforts to promote direct commerce from the South.

WE remained at Augusta for a week, and were very pleasantly accommodated at the private residence of Judge Hale, to whom we had letters of introduction from our friends at Savannah, and where we found ourselves as much at home as in our own abode. My lectures were given in the Baptist church every evening of the week without intermission, where they were very largely attended; and here, as at Savannah and at Charleston, the resident families seemed to vie with each other as to who should show us the greatest kindness and attention. We interchanged many agreeable visits, were taken by families in their carriages to several pleasant excursions in the neighbourhood, and saw all that was worthy of interest in the town itself.

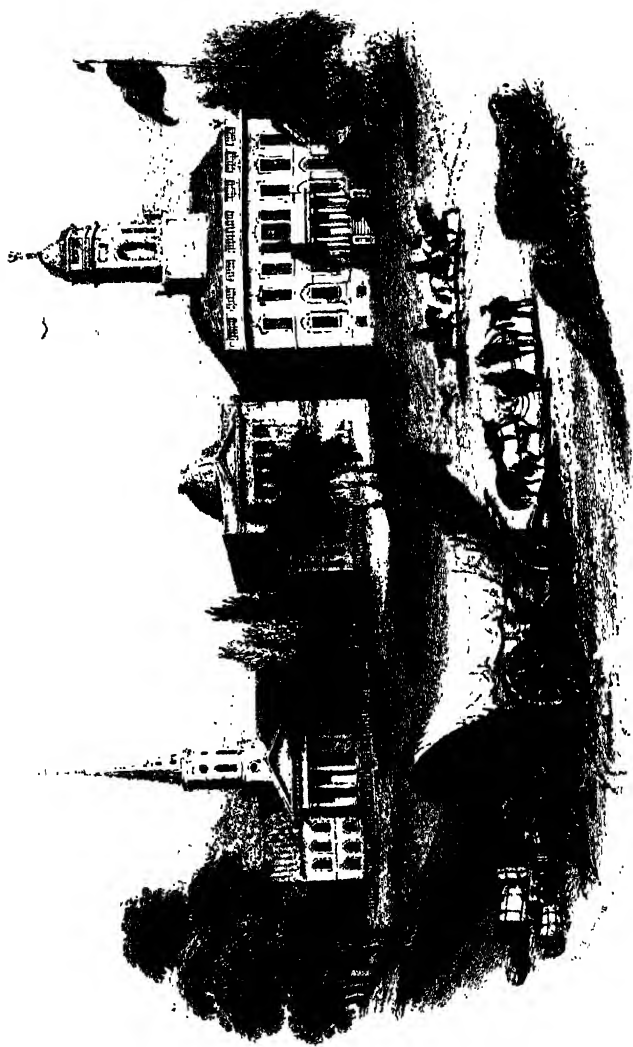
Augusta was first founded in 1735, and was so called in honour of London, of which this was the

ancient Roman name. It was planned by General Oglethorpe, the founder of Savannah ; and though at first only intended as an interior station for collecting the peltries, or skins, with which the settlers were supplied by the Indians, yet it was laid out by him with all the regularity becoming a great city, which he, no doubt, believed it would one day become.

The plan exhibits three very broad streets, 165 feet in width, and each upwards of a mile in length, running parallel to the river. Several streets of smaller dimensions lie behind these, and are crossed by others at right angles, dividing the whole therefore into a great number of squares. These streets are all lined with rows of trees on each side, to give shade, and add beauty to the avenue ; and the tree called the Pride of India, is chiefly used for this purpose.

The principal street of business is that nearest the river, though not immediately in front of it. This is called Broad-street, and in it are several good hotels, the Planters', the Globe, the United States, the Mansion-house, the Eagle and Phoenix, and others. Here also are nearly all the banks, of which, and insurance and trust companies, there are nearly a dozen. There is a large Masonic-hall also, two spacious and airy market houses, with open colonnades and a surmounting turret, many substantial dwellings, stores, and shops, and all the necessary adjuncts of business.

The second street in importance is Green-street, it lies next in order within, or beyond Broad-street, receding from the river, and running parallel to it.



This is of the same ample breadth as the former, and, like it, is lined with rows of trees, while the centre is a fine green turf, there being little or no thoroughfare of waggons or carts this way. The houses on each side of this are mostly private dwellings, and many of them are spacious and elegant. In this street also stands the city Court-house, a fine brick edifice, with portico, and tower surmounted by a statue of Justice, and having within a beautiful full-length picture of General Washington; the whole surrounded by a lawn and iron railing, and producing a fine effect. It cost 120,000 dollars. In front of it on a square pedestal is a tall mast called 'The Liberty Pole, the top of which bears a cap of liberty, and on it the national flag is displayed on days of public festivity.

Of churches there are seven: namely, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Catholic, Unitarian, and African Baptist; the first two are the handsomest structures, and are frequented by the more opulent families of the community; but all are well sustained by the voluntary system, and the ministers and congregations of each live in perfect harmony and peace with each other.

The population of Augusta is estimated at about 8,000, of whom there are not more than 4,000 whites, the remainder being negro slaves and coloured people. The whites are almost all engaged in trade with the interior; and from Augusta being the great centre of banking operations and exchange for a wide tract of inland country beyond it, it is thought that there is no city of the same population, more wealthy than Augusta in the United States. The

planters of Georgia send their cotton in here for sale, and draw from this all their supplies for interior consumption; so that there is a very active business continually carrying on, especially in the spring and fall of the year.

In the summer, some few of the richest families go off to the north, to the Virginia Springs, to Saratoga, or to Rhode Island; but the greater number repair to a very pleasant village, called Summerville, on the heights behind the town, at a distance of about three miles, where a number of handsome residences are collected, which are now deserted, but in the summer are quite full.

There is nothing peculiar in the manners and customs of Augusta; the inhabitants are not perhaps on the whole so polished as those of Charleston, or so hospitable as those of Savannah; but their excessive occupations of business may account for their not possessing the one, and a more frugal and simple mode of living may account for their not so extensively exercising the other; those families however, with whom we had the pleasure to hold intercourse, were characterized by great intelligence, frankness, ease of manners, affability, and courtesy.

There is a good Hospital in the city, supported by the municipal funds; and a Medical College, with chaste Doric portico and dome, at which there are from 70 to 80 students, the college being endowed by the State, and having an excellent Museum and apparatus. There is a Jail also, for debtors and criminals; but in the treatment of these last they neither adopt the Philadelphia system of solitary confinement, nor the Auburn system of labour and

silence, but suffer them to congregate together and to be idle, which is a double evil, and the cost of their maintenance is a burden to the City funds. There are from forty to fifty persons in it at present, the debtors being separated from the criminals, and the white prisoners from the coloured.

There is a large Academy close to the Medical College, for the higher branches of education, supported by the County funds ; a Free School on the Lancasterian plan, originally instituted by private subscription, but since maintained by the interest of a large bequest made by a benevolent individual for its support, and now therefore rendered independent of all pecuniary aid. There are also some Common Schools for boys, and an excellent Seminary for girls, under the direction of Mrs. Moise, a Jewish lady of great accomplishments, there being many wealthy merchants of the Hebrew nation settled here ; and in this school every department of female education is well conducted.

There is a small theatre in Augusta ; but, as in all the smaller cities of America, it is feebly supported, and indeed rarely frequented by the more respectable inhabitants, except on the occasion of some attractive performer visiting the place.

An attempt was recently made to establish a Lyceum, for regular lectures ; but it failed. There is a tolerable library, which is used, however, only by a few, as business seems to leave but little leisure or inclination for study, with any class of society in this busy town.

There are two newspapers, the Daily Sentinel and Chronicle, of Whig politics ; and the Constitutionalist,

published three times a week, of Democratic politics, with a monthly literary journal, called the *Augusta Mirror*. These are, however, but feebly conducted, and seem to exercise little or no influence on public opinion. The Whigs have gained great strength here of late. Both parties, Whig and Democratic, are now favourable to the continuance of the Union, and unwilling to endanger it by pressing too closely the doctrines of State rights and Nullification, like their neighbours in South Carolina. All are Anti-abolitionists, though, as respects the inhabitants generally, they are more kind in the treatment of their slaves, and less apprehensive of danger from insurrection, than in Carolina. Though the law here, as in all the slave states, forbids the instruction of negroes, many of them learn, of their own accord, to read and write, and some are taught by masters; and this illegal practice is winked at by those who know it, because it is found that no danger arises from such instruction. The children are said to be quite as apt as the whites in acquiring knowledge, and display in general greater eagerness to attain it.

The law also forbids any man to give freedom to his slave, except he is taken out of the territory. But even this is evaded by some humane owners, who, though they cannot give their slaves legal freedom in the State, give them the entire command of their labour, and allow them to work for themselves, and enjoy without deduction all the fruits of their industry. Several such cases were mentioned to us, and in every instance, the slaves so enjoying the rewards of their own labour appropriated a portion of it to the learning of reading, writing, and arithmetic, and

sometimes to the acquiring the knowledge of some trade by which their gains could be increased. This sort of emancipation is quite within the power of all slave-owners to give to their negroes ; and no one pretends to say that this would be dangerous ; but then it would require the sacrifice, on the part of the owner, of all the gains he now makes from the labour or wages of his slaves—and this, his selfishness will not permit him to make. It is, therefore, a mere question of pecuniary loss or gain, after all. Indeed my own conviction is, that if the slave-owners of America could but be persuaded that they would *gain* more by setting their slaves free, than by keeping them in bondage, they would all do so to-morrow ; and that all their pretended alarms about insurrection, annihilation, and so on, would vanish like a dream.

There are two large cotton factories in Georgia, within eight or ten miles of Augusta, worked by water-power, and chiefly engaged in spinning. In these, white labour is more used than black, there being, in the interior of the State, a number of poor white families, to whom this occupation is a great relief. Most of these are either actual emigrants from Ireland, or descendants of such emigrants ; and their poverty is wholly attributable to their habits of intemperance. I was assured, by a gentleman who had paid great attention to this subject, that the average life of an Irish emigrant here, rarely exceeds three years, if he persists in drinking spirits ; but that in the few instances in which men had been prevailed upon to leave off this poison, and use water only for their beverage, they were as long-lived and as prosperous as the natives of the country.

There has been some reform of late in this respect, by the operations of the Total Abstinence Society, recently established here, to succeed the old Temperance Society; and therefore, while in Savannah, with a population of 10,000, there are still 125 licensed spirit-shops, yielding a licensed revenue of 5,000 dollars per annum to the city-funds, there are here only about 50 licensed spirit-dealers, paying 50 dollars each for a license; and this privilege is often refused by the council to persons of bad repute.

There are two bridges across the river, one from the city of Augusta to the opposite village of Hamburg, and another higher up the stream. They are both built of wood: the lower one, which is a little more than 500 feet in length, cost about 30,000 dollars; and the upper one, which is little more than half that length, cost about 20,000 dollars. They have no beauty of appearance, but they are safe, and will answer every purpose till time and accumulated capital shall lead to the substitution of more solid and ornamental structures in their stead.

There are two rail-roads leading from Augusta, one to Charleston in South Carolina, which begins at the village of Hamburg, and goes for 136 miles, the distance being performed in about nine hours; and the other towards Milledgeville in Georgia, about 70 miles of which are completed, and the rest is in progress.

The steam-vessels that ply on the river, and carry cargoes of cotton, as well as passengers, from Augusta to Savannah, are mostly built of iron. We saw several of these at the wharf where we landed. It is said that the first iron steam-vessel used in America

was on the Savannah river. The castings and the wrought-iron, for both are used in their construction, are made in England, and they are allowed to pass free of duty, for this specific purpose. They are found to be strong, safe, light, and durable, and are likely to supersede the use of wooden steam-boats altogether, especially as, in addition to all their other advantages, they cannot be consumed by fire.

During our stay in Augusta, we made a pleasant excursion up to the Falls of the river, about three miles above the town. We rode up on the Carolina side, and went to see a spot called Snow Hill, which overlooks the Falls, and commands an extensive and pleasing view of the country on both sides the stream. The Falls, or Rapids as they should rather be called, are occasioned by ledges of hard rock that stretch across the bed of the river, like the second cataract of the Nile above Philœ or Assouan. This is the boundary of steam-navigation up the stream; but long and narrow boats come down these rapids, and shoot through small openings known to the pilots, carrying forty or fifty bales of cotton in each boat. At present there are a large number of traps set along the ledges, for catching the shad-fish; and some of the trappers make, it is said, fifty dollars in a single night, by the fish they take in this way.

Snow Hill is the most ancient spot of European settlement in this quarter. A little colony was first planted here; then another sprung up at a place close by, called Campbell Town; and lastly arose Augusta. Of Campbell Town there are not more than a dozen dwellings left, and these are all abandoned, and falling to pieces. Of the settle-

ment at Snow Hill there is not even one perfect house remaining, but the ruins of the first dwelling built there is seen in a shapeless heap; and in turning up some of its remains, my son found the rusty lock of an old musket, the necessary accompaniment of all settlements in those early days, when the Indian wigwams were often within a few miles of the settler's cottage. There also we were shown many circular excavations in the earth, of eight or ten feet depth, which were said to be places in which the people of the country sometimes employ their leisure in digging for hidden treasure, from a belief that in those early settlements it was often the practice, in time of danger, to bury vessels of gold and silver, and coin; and that such places being abandoned by parties who never returned to them again, the treasure would remain untouched. A very few instances of success in such researches would, of course, be sufficient to set many imitators in motion.

The three adjoining counties are here called Richmond, Chatham, and Burke, after the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Chatham, and Edmund Burke—all friends of America, in her struggle for independence. These counties are devoted to agriculture and pasture; the chief products being cotton, corn, and oats, on the high lands; and pasturage, or rice, on the low. The soil, however, is said to be everywhere deteriorating, even at this early period, for want of rest and manure. On this subject, that I may not be supposed to speak without good authority, I transcribe an extract from an "Address to the Farmers of Georgia for 1839," published in the *Augusta Constitutionalist*, in which the writer says,

“ By an act of the legislature of 1837, about forty gentlemen were constituted a board of agriculture and rural economy. These men were selected for their supposed qualifications, to advance the farming interest of Georgia, upon which all the prosperity of her citizens depend. By the aforesaid act, this board were to meet annually in Milledgeville, on the third Monday in November. It is believed that three-fourths of the persons named in the law, had no knowledge of its existence, and, therefore, the meeting was almost entirely neglected; some, however, did meet, and these highly approved of the object proposed.

“ It was proposed at the meeting, that a practical member of it should address a few essays to the planters, calling their attention to some of those important objects that should engage their care and attention.

“ First, then, as good soil is the first essential requisite to profitable farming, it is obvious this should engage the planter's care and labour; this should be done in two ways;—when the soil is naturally good, provision should be made to keep it so—when the soil is either naturally poor, or rendered so by exhaustion through bad husbandry, steps should, without delay, be taken for its restoration.

“ The farmers of Georgia could not have pursued a more fatal course than they have done for the last thirty years. The growing of cotton on broken lands, is the most ready way that can be adopted, to utterly destroy them. Hence we have thousands of acres that were once fertile, and richly repaid labour, now worthless, to the last degree—nothing but sterile red clay, full of gullies. And what has the planter received as an equivalent for his ruined land? Why, in most cases, nothing but an increased number of negroes, who now consume the almost entire production of his worn out land. And a few years more, going on at this rate, he must either remove West, be sold out by the Sheriff, or live in extreme poverty.”

. This recklessness and indifference as to the soil, has, no doubt, arisen from the facility with which land has been hitherto obtained by the planters of the country. It has been already mentioned, in the

history of Georgia, that 100,000 square miles of territory were ceded by the legislature of this State to the general government, soon after the incorporation of the several States into the Union, for the purpose of forming the two new States of Alabama and Mississippi; the whole of which tract had been previously purchased by land-speculators for 100,000 dollars, or one dollar for a square mile!

The general government undertook to compensate these speculators for the loss of their bargain, and to extinguish also all the Indian titles to the Cherokee lands within the limits of the newly circumscribed state of Georgia. Several hundred thousand acres being thus left at their disposal, a lottery was formed of the whole, and they were thus distributed:—First, a survey was made of all these lands; then they were marked off into townships and sections, and numbered in consecutive order. Each section of 160 acres was designated by a particular number, and tickets corresponding to these numbers were put into a wheel, as into any ordinary lottery. Every person residing in Georgia, at the time of the drawing, who had been living six months in the State, was entitled to a draw, if a single man or single woman; and every married man had a draw for himself, his wife, and each of his children, however many, and however young; and there were sections enough for all. Accordingly, men of large families, and who were fortunate in obtaining lands in a good position, were made rich; there were no blanks, except that some sections were sandy, others marshy, and others woody, and *therefore worth less than others*; but as nothing was paid for the privilege of a draw, no one could lose by

such a lottery. As there were known to be many, however, who if they drew good lands would have no capital to work them, but would be obliged to sell out, it was not difficult to speculate upon their shares ; and accordingly, land jobbers from the north went about and bought up men's chances for a small sum, never paying more than 50 dollars, and getting many for 5 dollars, by which large fortunes were made in this way. One gentleman told me that he sold a lot which came to him through this lottery for 500 dollars, within a week after he had drawn it ; others had cultivated their lots, and these were now worth 20 dollars an acre, or upwards of 3,000 dollars per lot. These fluctuations of fortune produced, as lotteries everywhere have done, a spirit of speculation and gambling, which it is easy to engender but very difficult to subdue ; and the effects of this continue to the present day, in speculations, jobbing, and lotteries, of which Augusta is still full.

In approaching the river, as we descended from the top of Snow Hill towards the stream, we passed through a thick forest, in which were a great variety of trees. Of these, there were several varieties of oak—the white, the black, the walnut, and the willow oak. There are said to be no less than 44 species of the oak in America, between the latitude of 20° and 48° N. while in all Europe, Asia, and Africa, there are reckoned only 30 species, found on both sides of the equator, and as far as 60° N. The live-oak, or *quercus sempervirens*, is the most valuable of all these, but is fast diminishing in numbers. Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana supply the best, and these near the sea-coast, and within 50 miles of the

shore. It is extremely hard, difficult to work, and so heavy as to sink in the water when green, but it is almost imperishable, and is therefore most valuable for ship-building. Its crooked branches furnish excellent knees for vessels; and for this, rather than for timbers or for plank, it is generally used. The demand for this wood, in building the finest American ships, has so trenched upon the supply, that the price has more than doubled within the last twenty years, and the trees are so fast diminishing, that it is thought in fifty years more they will be all used up.

It is remarkable that the southern shores of France and Italy were once skirted with the evergreen or live oak, but they have entirely disappeared from use as large trees, and are now only known as a small stunted shrub, the *quercus ilex*. The swamp white oak, or *quercus aquatica*, grows to the largest size, from 80 to 100 feet high, but this is a deciduous tree; as is also the black, the yellow, and the post oak. Of the former, the timber is used for beams and planks in ship-building; the latter has its name from its being suitable to posts, piles, and other uses requiring the immersion of the wood in mud or water, where it is less affected by decay than any other species. All the forest trees of America are of taller growth than the trees of Europe; for while, according to Michaux, only 37 species of trees in France reach the height of 30 feet, there are no less than 130 different species in America that reach and exceed this elevation.

The walnut is another fine tree, of which we saw many in the woods here. Of these there are ten distinct species, though most of them are called by

the general name of hickory. The wood is coarse and open, and not well adapted for building, as it is subject to be soon worm-eaten. It is used for hoops of casks and boxes, and large quantities are exported to the West Indies. While the young trees are used for this purpose, the old ones are consumed for fuel, as they contain a larger quantity of combustible matter, and give out a stronger heat, than most other woods. The vast consumption of hoops and fuel in the United States, bids fair to work up all these trees in a comparatively short space of time, more especially as they are of slow growth, and do not sprout twice from the same root. The black walnut is the finest of all the species, and its wood is used for ornamental furniture, resembling, when rubbed with a solution of nitric acid, the finest mahogany.

The Georgia pitch-pine is abundant, and it is a highly valuable tree. This is called by a great variety of names, such as the southern, the red, the brown, the yellow, and the long-leaved pine; but they all indicate the same kind of tree. It is found chiefly in what are called pine-barrens, and on the edge of swamps. It rises to the height of from sixty to seventy feet, and varies in diameter from fifteen to eighteen inches. The timber of this pine is more compact and durable than that of any other species, and it is found in the greatest perfection in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. Besides its use for masts and spars for ships, and for purposes of building generally, it supplies all the resinous matter used in the United States, and affords a large quantity also for exportation to Europe.

Throughout all the lower parts of Carolina, Geor-

gia and Florida, tar was formerly made in great quantities from the pitch-pine, but at present this has given way to other occupations, and North Carolina is now the chief seat of this manufacture—large shipments being made from Wilmington. It is said that when the northern States were first settled, the pitch-pine abounded there also; but these were exhausted in about thirty years of time, by the use made of them for building, fuel, and tar; and it is now more than sixty years since they have ceased to exist in any large quantities. There are still millions of acres covered with forests of this pine, in the south and west, though they cannot now be made use of from want of ready communication with the sea; but time will develope all this, and they too will gradually disappear.

Amidst the great variety of trees which filled the forest, it was curious to observe the number of grape vines springing from the ground, twisting themselves around trees of every kind and size, and winding round their branches from the root to the summit. Some of these vines had trunks of a foot in diameter. They are thought to grow with the growth of the trees to which they attach themselves, so that the parasite is coeval with the trunk round which it winds; and this can alone account for the singular positions and combinations in which they are seen. Very few of these vines produce any fruit, and when any are seen they are found to be a small round grape, like the wild black cherry, sour, bitter and harsh to the taste, though it is said that by fermentation tolerable wine has been obtained from them. They appear to bear the same relation to the grape

of the vineyard in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, as the wild crab-apple does to the more perfect fruit of the orchard and garden. There are many other descriptions of vines, some of which produce better grapes, and furnish abundant food to the birds inhabiting the woods.

Among the animals most frequently seen here, are the opossum and the racoon, both of which are hunted for sport by the country people, and the flesh of both is eaten occasionally by the negroes. The opossums usually inhabit the hollow trunks of large trees in a state of decay, where they remain asleep during the day-time, and leave their haunts at night in search of food. The approach of winter is the period when the hunting of them commences, and the sportsmen then go out at night for this purpose. The opossum, when pursued, gets into a tree, and coils himself away in the hollow of the trunk, or on an angle of a diverging branch shooting from it, so as hardly to be seen. The dogs, however, scent him there, and keep up an incessant barking, while the hunter ascends the tree, dislodges him by shaking, and after several leaps from limb to limb, he gradually succeeds in forcing him to fall to the ground. He then rolls himself up, and puts on the appearance of being perfectly dead, a disguise which he so well assumes, that he is often left, after several stabs and blows, as really so. His pursuers are scarcely out of his sight, however, before he is seen gradually unfolding himself and silently stealing away; but if a noise or shouting apprizes him that he is seen, or a pursuit is renewed, he instantly resumes his dead appearance, and counterfeits it so well as to deceive all but the

most experienced. This habit of the animal has given rise to the common saying of a man or boy "playing 'possum," when they pretend to be sick or asleep, or put on, in short, any fictitious appearance to deceive. The racoon unites a mischievous and vindictive disposition with his cunning; and he too, like the opossum, is usually found abroad at night. It preys, like the fox, on the poultry of farm-yards, destroying what it cannot consume; and like the fox, its skin is valuable for its fur, which is much used in the manufacture of the caps and hats in the country.

When we wound our way up from the river through the forest a second time, we saw the cactus or prickly pear, though it does not grow here to the size which it attains in Palestine or in India. The holly-bush was also abundant. The Cherokee plum, now putting forth its blossoms, was like the black-thorn of England in May, and produces a small, round, harsh, and sour fruit, like the sloe. Bramble-bushes with blackberries, were also abundant; and we saw a species of myrtle, on which grows a berry that is extremely unctuous and inflammable, and is often used by the people of the country for lights. The wax plant is also found in most of these shady woods, every part of which, except the root, has the appearance of wax prepared in the most delicate and perfect manner.

Another excursion that I made during my stay in Augusta was, to the town of Hamburg, on the Carolina side of the Savannah river. This town was begun and named by a German merchant now living, who has expended too liberally for his means

in the promotion of his favourite object; but the town has now attained to sufficient standing to go forward without further adventitious aids. It is here that the railroad from Augusta to Charleston commences, and has its depôt; and from hence also large shipments of Carolina cotton takes place for transporting down to the port of destination by the river.

The plan of Hamburgh exhibits streets of great breadth and regularity; and there are stores, hotels, banks, and all the auxiliaries of a rising and prosperous settlement. In the rear of the town is a natural hill, from 50 to 60 feet above the general level, called Liberty Hill, where the Americans were posted at the revolutionary war, when they obliged the English forces to evacuate Augusta. From this hill the finest views of the town of Hamburgh and the city of Augusta, on the opposite side of the river, are to be had. The top of the hill has been excavated with a ditch surrounding the upper mound; and large beams of wood have been placed, to form flights of steps for ascending to the summit. All this I was told was the work of the German gentleman before alluded to, who became so infatuated about his pet town, that he seemed to wish to imitate the style and state of a petty German prince; for he called this his castle, and employed several Germans of the humbler classes, with muskets and bayonets, to mount guard upon the fortress, and even to warn persons off who were approaching it, a folly that has still further encroached upon his means, and left him now as much embarrassed as

any of the German princes whose state he was so desirous of imitating.

In our ramble through Hamburgh I was shown two houses, to which negro slaves are brought for sale from Virginia; and being purchased here by slave-dealers, they are taken on to the South-western States for a higher market. In Virginia, the soil has been so much exhausted, by the cultivation of tobacco, that thousands of acres are now unproductive, and unsuited for any tillage. The wealth of the planter who owns such lands, consists therefore chiefly, if not entirely, in his negroes. These are regularly bred and multiplied for sale, like cattle; and as the progeny increases, the more saleable portions are selected, and brought on to the South, or sent to the slave-market at Washington, or sometimes sold in Virginia itself. They are thus passed on from the State where their labour is not in demand, to the rising states and territories, in which labour is in request; and accordingly, in the Augusta papers, as in the Washington journals, every day are to be seen advertisements, offering "Cash for likely negroes."

A slave-trade is thus carried on throughout the Southern States, under the gentle name of the "removal of slaves from one state to another;" and though this is not attended with all the horrors and cruelties of the "Middle Passage," which characterized the Atlantic slave-trade of former times, yet it leads to the separation of husband and wife, of parents and children, and brothers and sisters, without the most distant hope of their ever meeting again;

and from all the information I could obtain on this subject, the negroes feel these separations as acutely as any whites could do, and are unhappy for years afterwards.

Here, however, as everywhere throughout the South, slavery is a topic upon which no man, and, above all, a foreigner, can open his lips without imminent personal danger, unless it is to defend and uphold the system. Then, indeed, he may speak as freely as he pleases ; but if it is even to doubt whether slavery be on the whole either just or profitable, he is sure to be assailed with imputations of being an incendiary, of desiring to incite the slaves to rebellion, to bring about the massacre of the whites and the annihilation of their property. The violence of the measures taken against the few who from time to time venture to express themselves in favour of Abolition, is such as to strike terror into others ; and thus all public discussion of the question is as effectually suppressed, as if there were a censorship of the press, or a holy inquisition. I feel assured that it would not be so dangerous for a man to preach the right of resistance to despotic authority in Petersburg or Vienna, to inveigh against popery at Rome, or to denounce Mohammedanism at Constantinople, as it would be for him to proclaim himself, either by his pen or by his tongue, as an Abolitionist in the slave-holding States south of the Potomacs in America ; and yet, to tell the Americans that they have neither freedom of the press nor freedom of speech, to the extent to which both are enjoyed in England, would greatly offend as well as surprise them, though nothing could be more true.

To form an idea of the horror with which the very name of an Abolitionist is regarded ; and to see how men who avow themselves to be opposed to slavery in the abstract, shrink from such an imputation as that of being favourable to Abolition in practice it is only necessary to read the report of any proceedings in Congress at Washington in connexion with this subject. To those of the American nation who think Mr. O'Connell "foul-mouthed," and complain of the coarseness of vituperation with which he speaks of slave-holders and slave-breeders in the United States, the language used in the debates of their own House of Representatives, may be held up as a mirror, in which they may see a portrait as revolting, to say the least, as any that Mr. O'Connell ever presented of themselves.

I am no apologist for vituperation, under any degree of injury or excitement ; because I think it degrades the person using it, be he of what nation, sect, or of party he may. But if it be an offence in one man to speak strongly when he denounces a system which he believes to be cruel and unjust as well as impolitic, it is equally reprehensible in others to follow the same course. But the Americans are not the only people to whom the prayer of Burns is peculiarly applicable ; for almost every nation under the sun might profit by it if such a prayer could be granted to them ; when the poet says.

"O that the gods the gift would gi' us,
To see oursels as others see us!"

The subject of a direct trade between the Southern States and Europe, without the intervention of the

Northern States, through which that trade is now almost entirely carried on, has been recently agitated in Augusta, as well as in Charleston, and is still indeed under discussion in most private circles, having already been the subject of a public convention. The planters and merchants of the interior, however, are not so eager on this subject as those of the seaports, because their interests are not so deeply involved. They dispose of their cotton to buyers here, or at the ports on the coast, and trouble themselves no further, as they find all the supplies they want in the stores of the towns at which their sales are made ; but the ship-owners and merchants of the coast naturally look with jealousy on a state of things which leads to the importation of all their European supplies through the ports of the North. It is certain that three-fourths of the exports of America are from the South-western States ; the cotton, rice, and tobacco of which, as well as flour, hemp, and rice, go to all the countries of Europe ; yet the imports, in return for all this, come in by way of New York : so that when the imports of the whole United States amounted to 190 millions of dollars, the share of the importation that fell to the South-western States was only 20 millions. Georgia and South Carolina alone export to the value of about 24 millions, yet the united imports of both amount to only 4 millions ; all the rest being imported first into New York and other northern ports, direct from Europe, and thence indirectly brought to the south, thus increasing the cost to the consumer.

The close of my labours at Augusta, was the delivery of a public address on the subject of Tempe-

rance, in the Presbyterian Church, the largest in the city, on the evening of Sunday the 4th of March. It was very fully attended, and the impression appeared to be favourable, the inhabitants of this city being much in advance of those of Charleston and Savannah on this subject; for with a similar extent of population to Savannah, where there are 125 licensed spirit-dealers, there are in Augusta less than 50; and while much less spirits are consumed by the lower classes, much less wine is also drank by the higher.

On the whole, our visit to Augusta was very satisfactory. The city is handsome, the surrounding country picturesque, the resident families intelligent, hospitable, and agreeable; while everything indicates great present wealth and comfort, and promises great future opulence. It may be doubted whether there is any town in Great Britain, containing only a population of 5,000 whites, that has so much of wealth, industry, and enterprise, combined with such excellent public and private buildings, and means of education and improvement, as Augusta.

CHAP. XII.

Departure from Augusta for Warrenton—Badness of the road—
—Snow; suffering from cold—Sparta—Milledgeville, legislative capital—Night journey to Macon; description of Macon; history and locality—Plan of the city and public buildings—Georgia Female College—Churches and sects—Hard-shell Baptists—Universalists—Culture of cotton lands—Employment of slave-labour—Comparative condition of domestic and field slaves—Great disadvantage of slavery to the planters—*Morus multicaulis*—Periodical journals devoted to the silk question—Premiums offered for the production of silk—Incendiaries—Method of slaves taking revenge—Bowie-knife vengeance by a judge—Newspapers—Indian mounds—Country-people—History of Solomon Humphries, an opulent free-negro—Contrast with white slavery in English factories—Specimen of Georgian poetry and Georgian feeling—Scenery of the northern part of the State—Impressive sermon against the love of wealth—Working of the voluntary system.

ON Monday the 4th of March we left Augusta for Macon, on our way to Mobile and New Orleans, wishing to see the interior of Georgia and Alabama, and finish our examination of the Southern States before the approach of the hot weather. We had to set out at six o'clock, and go by a railroad from hence to Warrenton, a distance of about fifty miles. The cars were much inferior in their accommodation and fittings to those on the northern railroads, and our speed did not exceed fifteen miles in the hour. On reaching the end of the railroad at Warrenton, we had to take the stage-coach, and were fortunately able to engage the whole of it for our party, or to "charter" it, as the expression is here, keeping up

the maritime phraseology, by which the conductor is called "the pilot," and the sound of "all aboard" announces that the engine may move on, as all the passengers are in the cars. Our fare by the railroad, fifty miles, was $2\frac{1}{2}$ dollars each, or about ten shillings sterling; and for the whole stage, large enough for nine passengers, we paid 48 dollars, or about £10 sterling, for 75 miles; 45 from Warrenton to Milledgeville, and 30 from thence to Macon.

The weather was intensely cold; the branches of the trees on each side of our way being covered with frost, long icicles of three or four feet hanging from the rails and fences, at least an inch in diameter at the root; and before noon, the snow began to descend copiously. We were not sufficiently prepared for this extreme cold, and therefore suffered greatly, the coaches being open at the sides for summer use, and merely closed in with painted canvass, or oil-cloth, for winter, but so loosely as to let in the cold air in every part. We rode for the greater part of the way with the windows closed and curtains drawn, and even then longed for a supply of warmer clothing.

Our road lay almost wholly through dense pine-forests; and the constant succession of these trees, with scarcely any other variety, made the way gloomy and monotonous. The road itself was the worst we had ever yet travelled over, it being formed apparently by the mere removal of the requisite number of trees to open a path through the forest, and then left without any kind of labour being employed, either to make the road solid in the first instance, or to keep it in repair. We were, accordingly, sometimes half up to the axletree in loose sand, sometimes

still deeper immersed in a running brook, or soft swamp, and occasionally so shaken and tossed from seat to roof, and side to side, from the pitching and rolling of the coach, that it seemed to me the motion was more violent and excessive than that of the smallest vessel in the heaviest sea. We were all, in short, bruised and beaten by the blows we received from these sudden jolts and pitchings, so as to suffer severely ; and this, added to the pinching cold, made our journey extremely disagreeable.

About two o'clock we reached the village of Sparta, there being also a Rome and an Athens in the same State ; the former on the Etawah river in Floyd County, and the latter on the Big Sandy Creek, near Hermon, in Clark County, not far from the Land of Goshen, which is close to Edinburgh, Lincoln, Lisbon, Petersburg, and Vienna, so strange are the juxtapositions of names on an American map. We halted at Sparta to dine ; but the sight of the public table prepared for the passengers was so revolting, that, hungry as we were after our long and cold ride, early rising, and violent motion, we turned away in disgust from the table, and made our dinner in the coach on hard biscuits. There were three lines of coaches on this road, all leaving at the same hour, and arriving at the same time—the Mail line, the Telegraph line, and the People's line. The passengers from each of these took their seats at the table, and many of them appeared to dine as heartily as if they saw nothing unusual in the fare. But the dirty state of the room in which the table was laid, the filthy condition of the table-cloth, the coarse and broken plates, rusty knives and forks, and large

junks of boiled pork, and various messes of corn and rancid butter, added to the coarse and vulgar appearance and manners of most of the guests, made the whole scene the most revolting we had yet witnessed in the country. The ancient Spartans themselves, with their black broth and coarse fare, could not have been farther removed from luxury than these Spartans of modern days ; and one might almost be tempted, from what we saw, to suppose that the modern Spartans affected the manners of the ancient Lacedemonians, in diet at least, to justify the appropriateness of the name they had chosen for their village. •

We left Sparta at three o'clock ; and after a cold, dreary, and tedious drive through thick woods and over broken roads, we reached Milledgeville about eight, having been assured before setting out that we should reach there at three. As this is the legislative capital of the State of Georgia, we had hoped to find a good hotel here at least, as the legislative body consists of nearly 400 members, and these all reside here during the few months that the two houses are assembled in annual session. But our hopes were not realized. The inn at which the coach stopped was a wretched one ; and though all we desired to have was a cup of tea and some cold meat for our party, we had the greatest difficulty in getting either. It was our wish to remain here all night, and go on to Macon in the morning ; but on inquiry we found that no private or extra conveyance could be had from hence to Macon in the daytime, for love or money, though this is the seat of the State legislature, and Macon is only thirty miles off.

Three stage-coaches pass through this place, between Augusta and Montgomery, at night, and these are the only conveyances to be had ; so that if we did not go on to-night, we could only proceed on the following, there being no conveyance whatever for day-travelling. This was a great disappointment—but we were without a remedy ; and so we prepared to go forward, cold and weary as we were. The tea was tardily and reluctantly prepared for us in a bedroom ; and it may give some idea of the rudeness with which this was done, to say, that the dirty negress who made the tea, brought the stinted quantity required in the hollow of her hand, without any other receptacle for it—that the milk was placed on the table in a broken tea-cup, milk-cups not being in use—and that when a slop-basin was asked for, the thing was unknown, and a large salad-bowl was brought for that purpose.

We left Milledgeville at nine, and, after a more comfortless ride than we should like to endure again, we did not reach Macon till four in the morning, having been seven hours in performing thirty miles, over roads that would be thought impassable in any part of Europe, and which would break to pieces any description of carriages except the ponderous stage-coaches of this country, which are made as heavy and as strong as the union of wood and iron can make them. One reason assigned for this entire neglect of the public roads, is, that the scantiness of the population along their borders would make any assessment on the lands or the inhabitants, sufficient for this purpose, so burdensome, as to be ruinous to those who had to pay it, and, would, consequently,

drive all the population away from the very track to which it was most desirable to attract them. Another reason is, that railroads are so increasing over every part of the country, that stage-roads will soon be useless, and therefore it would be a waste of money to make or repair them. The wretched state of the ordinary roads thus operates as an additional stimulus to the construction of railroads wherever it is practicable ; so that perhaps in a few years from this, there will be a connected series of railroad and steam-boat communication from Maine to Louisiana, and the journey from Portland to New Orleans may be then performed in a few days.

At Macon we found comfortable apartments prepared for us in the Central Hotel ; and having, through the influence of a private friend, obtained the rare luxury, in this country, of a private sitting-room, and separate table, we enjoyed our week's stay here extremely. During the week, my lectures were given in the new Presbyterian church, a very handsome building just finished, and they were well attended by the most respectable classes of the community, to whom they gave so much satisfaction as to lead to an arrangement for my returning again to give another course at a more advanced period of the spring.

The town of Macon, or city, as it should be more correctly called, it being incorporated as such, is of very recent origin, as, only fifteen years ago, the ground on which it stands was covered with primeval forest ; and not a single dwelling was then erected here. At that period, there was a military station near it, called Fort Hawkins, which was then the

frontier station of the whites towards the south and west ; the whole of this territory being then occupied by the Creek Indians, while the Cherokees occupied the more northern parts of the State. In the survey of the lands, adverted to in the previous sketch of the history of Georgia, when the Indian titles to large tracts were extinguished by the general government paying to them a compensation or purchase-money for the same, and when the whole was divided into sections and put into a lottery, in which every citizen had a right to a ticket or a draw, certain localities were reserved by the State government of Georgia, for the formation of towns, and this was one of them. Accordingly, the town of Macon, so called after a wealthy citizen of Carolina, was laid out by the state-surveyor, and the ground sold in lots to private purchasers for building. It was soon after incorporated with all the municipal privileges of a city. Since that period it has gone on increasing in wealth and population, till the present year, when it numbers upwards of 8,000 inhabitants, of whom about 5,000 are whites, and 3,000 slaves and coloured people ; and though only fifteen years old, its exports of cotton amounted last year to 5,000,000 dollars, and its imports to 4,000,000 dollars—the surplus of about 2,000,000 dollars being expended in building, in railroads, and various other improvements.

The town is very agreeably and advantageously situated on the western bank of the river Ocmulgee, which joins the river Oconee, farther south, and their junction makes the river Alatamaha, on which the town and port of Darien is situated, within a few

miles of the sea. This river, in its windings goes over a space of 600 miles between Macon and Darien, a length equal to that of all England and Scotland united ! yet Macon is very nearly in the middle of the State of Georgia, it being quite as far from it to the Tennessee river, which is its north-western boundary, as it is to the river St. Mary, or Cumberland Sound, which is its south-eastern boundary on the Atlantic. This extensive area has not more than 600,000 persons yet settled on it, according to the census of the last year, though its fertility and general resources would, no doubt, be sufficient to maintain in comfort, if not in affluence, the whole population of England ; and this will, no doubt, be its ultimate destiny, when its forests are cleared, and all its agricultural, mineral and manufacturing resources are fully developed.

The plan of Macon, like that of nearly all the towns in the United States, is remarkably regular ; the streets run at right angles with each other, and are from 100 to 120 feet in breadth. The houses are mostly of wood ; many of these are spacious and elegant ; and some of the private dwellings are of brick, well built and in good taste. The public edifices are large, well proportioned, and indicative of a rising and prosperous city. The City Hall is among the most prominent of these ; it stands in a fine open space at the end of one of the principal streets, which displays it to great advantage.

A neat market-house, with open colonnade and tower, occupies the middle of the same street, and near this is the Railroad Bank, with a fine Doric portico of fluted pillars ; while the new Presbyterian

Church, with its square tower, completes a very interesting architectural group.

On the west of the town is a rising ground terminating in a hill, about a hundred feet in height, overlooking the town on the east, and having behind it on the west, a pretty valley, beyond which are clusters of villas and cottages, to which the wealthy inhabitants retire in the hot season to sleep, coming into the city for business only. On this hill are several private mansions as large and as handsome as any of those which excited our admiration at New Bedford. On this elevation is now constructing, and nearly completed, an extensive pile for the Female College of Macon. This edifice, which is built of brick and stone, is sufficiently capacious to accommodate 200 boarders, and to educate 200 day-scholars besides ; in addition to this, it has ample accommodation in rooms, for study, recitations, and every other requisite for pupils, with an excellent private dwelling for the master and teachers. Though the building is not yet finished, there are already 150 young ladies, from 10 to 18 years of age, receiving their education there ; and the style of tuition, and range of subjects taught, are not inferior to those of any of the Female Academies of the North. I had an opportunity of conversing with the head master ; and enjoyed the advantages of the services of the Latin, French, and Spanish teachers for my son ; and they appeared to me to be quite as competent to the discharge of their duties as those of the best schools of Europe.

In front of the College is a space of six acres of sloping land, which, as well as the site for the building, was the gift of a Methodist minister, who is also a

merchant in Macon, and which it is intended to lay out as a Botanical Garden for the recreation and improvement of the students. Instruments are also providing, for giving them instruction in chemistry, mineralogy, and astronomy, so that the course of education will be solid and useful, while languages, music, and drawing will make it also ornamental. The whole will be extremely cheap; the English literary and scientific course, including the French language, being only 50 dollars per annum, or £10 sterling. The funds for the erection of the building was raised by the Methodists, who, when the land was given for the site and garden by their minister, organized a committee, and sent agents throughout the State to collect funds by subscriptions or donations. When a considerable amount had been thus raised, so as to ensure the certainty of building a College, the resident inhabitants of Macon began to perceive that it would be to their interest to have a handsome building and an efficient establishment, and they contributed largely also; so that from these united sources, the sum of about 50,000 dollars, or 10,000*l.* sterling, was raised. The State Legislature next chartered a State Bank, on condition of its paying 25,000 dollars towards building the College; and the Methodist minister gave twelve acres of land, worth 36,000 dollars; all of which sums will be spent in its completion. The land, when given by the minister to form the site of the building, was not considered to be worth more than 100 dollars per acre, the ordinary price of cotton farming-land in the surrounding country being 10 dollars per acre. But since the erection of the

College, and the increased demand for building-lots in its vicinity, the value of the land in this locality has so increased, that a gentleman wishing to erect a country mansion on the hill, surrounded by a garden, had to pay 3,000 dollars, or 600*l.* sterling per acre, which, five years ago, might have been had for 100 dollars, and fifteen years ago might have been had for 1½ dollar; so rapid is the increase of value in land by augmented population, and increased demand for it.

Of churches there are five in Macon—Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, and Universalist. The first three are the largest and most popular. The Baptists are of the order called here “Hard-shelled Baptists,” a phrase which was new to me; and which was given to them, as I understood, from their being so impenetrable to all influences of a benevolent kind, and so hostile to all the auxiliary aids of missions, tract societies, temperance societies, peace societies, sick-visiting societies, and other charitable and philanthropic associations; against all of which they are said to set their faces, and to denounce them as interfering with the free operation of the gospel, and substituting human machinery for apostolic preaching. They are accordingly given to the pleasures of the table without restraint; and one of their veteran preachers here is said to have declared from the pulpit that he would never submit to be deprived of his “worldly comforts” by the fanatics of modern times; and among those comforts he numbered his “honey-dram before breakfast,” and his “mint julap or sling, when the weather required it.”

The Universalists are very few in number, though they are zealous in endeavouring to obtain converts. Of these the following anecdote is told here :—A Universalist preacher assembled a number of the citizens to preach to them a probationary sermon, in which he endeavoured to persuade them that the idea of eternal damnation was wholly unwarranted by Scripture ; and that even temporary punishment after death was not to be expected, as the wicked had their sufferings before they descended to the grave ; and all beyond that would be universal happiness. After this discourse, he told the congregation that he was about to make a journey farther west ; but that in a short time he would return among them again, to ascertain whether they would wish to build him a church, and engage him as their preacher. He returned after a short absence, as promised, and repeated, to the same audience, all his former opinions, desiring, at the close of his discourse, that the assembly would indicate to him, by some means, the resolution they had taken as to his future stay among them. Upon this, an elderly man arose and said, that having listened with deep attention to all that had been uttered by the preacher in his two sermons, he had come to this conclusion—that if all he had stated was *true*, and there was to be no punishment for the wicked after death, he really did not see the use of churches or preachers at all, for the police and the laws were sufficient to deal with criminals while in this world ; but if, on the other hand, what he had been saying was *not* true, then, certainly, he would be a very improper person for their pastor : so that whether his views

were true or false, they should not be disposed to require his further services.

The lands around the town are devoted chiefly to the cultivation of cotton, and 150,000 bales were sent last year from this small town to Savannah and to Darien, for shipment to Europe. The crop was then short, and this year it is said to be still shorter, occasioned by unusual drought, though cotton bears the absence of moisture better than almost any other vegetable production. It is estimated that the crop of this year will fall short of that of last by 300,000 bales, and holders of cotton are therefore averse to sell, though the present price is eighteen cents per pound; while last year, about the same period, it was from nine to twelve cents only. Last year, up to the 1st of March, 86,209 bales had been received in Macon from the surrounding plantations. Up to the 1st of March this year, only 59,924 bales have been received; so that there is a deficiency of 26,285 bales in this town only, as compared with the same period last year; and then the supply was less than the average of many years preceding.

In the cultivation of cotton, the labourers employed are wholly negro slaves; their condition is generally better than that of the slaves employed in the cultivation of rice or sugar, the occupation being more healthy, and the profits admitting of a more liberal allowance of food; though in all other respects, as to clothing, lodging, cleanliness, and education, they are in the same dark, degraded, and hopeless state as the African race generally throughout the Southern States. Here, too, as elsewhere, there is a great difference between the condition

of the field-slaves on the plantations, and the domestic slaves about the houses of respectable families. These last are as well fed and as well clad as the free domestic servants of many countries of Europe, though far inferior to those of England; but still, even these are wholly uneducated, and entirely without the hope of benefiting their condition by any exertions of industry or economy, to the practice of which they have no conceivable inducement whatever. The field-slaves, being regarded as instruments of production, are maintained with as little cost as possible, compatible with the keeping them in good working condition; because, in proportion to the great quantity of work got out of them, and the small cost of their maintenance, will be the profit of the planter. He has every motive, therefore, to increase the one, and lessen the other, till he brings each to the point beyond which it is unsafe to carry them. In the domestic service of most private establishments here, there are often more slaves than are necessary for the labour required of them, many being kept for state, or ostentation; and as the coachman, footman, lady's maid, butler, cook, and other household servants, are continually passing before the eyes of the master and mistress, as well as their visitors and guests, they are almost sure of being well clad and kindly treated, because the sight of dirty and miserable-looking attendants would be painful to those by whom they are surrounded, as well as to themselves.

On this question, of the false economy of employing slave-labour in the cultivation of the land, every thing I heard and saw confirmed me in the opinion,

that it was most injurious to the interests of the planters; and that none would benefit more by a system of free labour than the very landowners themselves. At present, if a planter wishes to purchase an estate for cultivation, he can get 1,000 acres of land for 10,000 dollars; and if he could obtain free labour to till his fields, hiring it by the day, and paying for such labour as he required, and no more, 5,000 dollars would be ample for a reserved capital by which to procure his seed, labour, and stock. But as he must, according to the present system, buy his slaves as well as his land, it will require at least 500 dollars, or £100 sterling, for each working negro that he may need; and supposing only 100 negroes to be purchased, this would require 50,000 dollars to be laid out in the purchase of *prospective* labour, paying for it before he receives the slightest benefit, and under all the risks of sickness, desertion, and death. In this manner, according to the statement of Mr. Clay, in his recent Anti-abolition speech in Congress, there is locked up, of dead capital, in the purchase and cost of the negro slaves of the United States, the enormous sum of twelve hundred millions of dollars, or about two hundred and fifty millions sterling! Now, if slavery had never been permitted to exist here, and labour could have been hired by the day, or week, or year, as in other free countries, this enormous amount of capital would have been available to devote to other purposes; and the whole country would have been advanced at least a century beyond its present condition.

It may be quite true that the African race can alone sustain the exposure to heat and labour com-

bined, which the cultivation of rice, sugar, and cotton, demand; but it is at the same time as true, that their labour might be hired and paid for only as it was employed, instead of the ruinously improvident system of buying up all the labour of their lives, and paying for it beforehand; thus sinking an immense capital in the very country where capital is more valuable, because more productive of wealth, than in any other country that can be named. If a large manufacturer in England, when he had built his mill and fitted his machinery, were required to buy all his working hands at £100 each, and then maintain them all their lives, sick or well, aged or infirm, with the risk of loss by desertion or death, he would be less able to work his mill with £100,000, than he now is with £20,000; and consequently not half or a fourth of the mills now in operation could be established. If a shipowner, when he had built, equipped, and provisioned his ship for her voyage, had to buy up all his seamen at £100 a head, and maintain them all their lives afterwards, it would require four times the capital that is now necessary to send a large ship to sea, and consequently fewer persons could equip vessels. Thus the manufacturing and the shipping interests would both be retarded in their progress by this improvident and heavy burden of paying for a life of labour in advance, instead of paying for it by the week or the month, as its benefits were reaped by them.

Exactly the same effects are produced in retarding the prosperity of agriculture; and thus it is that the old slave-states of Virginia and Maryland are already exhausted. The Carolinas and Georgia are ready partially so; and in process of time this

will be the fate of Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky, and the other slave-states; while those who employ the cheaper, more vigorous, and more productive element of free labour, will outstrip them in the race, from the mere advantage of a better system of industry. While I believe, therefore, that the condition of the slaves would be much improved by their being placed under the influence of those higher and better motives to labour which the enjoyment of the reward of their own toil can alone create, I also believe that the planters would all benefit by the substitution of free-labour for slave-labour, because the former is cheaper and more productive than the latter can ever be made. The slave-owners are indeed their own enemies, in opposing or retarding the emancipation of their labourers.

It is no doubt very difficult to prevail upon a man who has laid out 50,000 dollars in the purchase of 100 negroes, to set them all free, and pay them for their labour by the day; but it is often wiser to break up a bad system at almost any loss, and substitute a better one, than it is to continue the practice of the old, because of the capital sunk in it, when the new would be so much more profitable. But the competition of free labour in the free states will ultimately render this indispensable; and the parallel to this may be often seen in the case of manufactures. A manufacturer purchases, at great expense, a machine for producing a certain fabric. He has scarcely got it into full use, before a new discovery is made, of some superior machine, by which the fabric can be produced with much greater rapidity and at much less cost. If he adheres to the use of his old machine,

because of his reluctance to throw away that which cost him so much money, his competitor will soon beat him, by underselling him in price, and surpassing him in quantity and quality. But if he consent to sink his former outlay as a dead loss, and adopt the improvement of his rival, he will keep pace with him at least, and thus live and make a fair share of profit, though the former course could only end in ultimate bankruptcy and ruin. It was so with the small sailing-vessels for rivers, and passage-boats from port to port, when steam-navigation was first introduced. Many of the owners of the old sailing-smacks and vessels, unwilling to throw away what cost them a large sum, continued to sail their vessels against the steamers, and sunk money every trip. The wiser owners laid aside their vessels altogether, to employ steamers in the same trade, and these soon recovered their first loss, and prospered. And so it would be with the owners of slaves, if they were to set them free even without compensation, rid themselves of all the burthen of compulsory maintenance for inefficient work, employ only the hands they wanted, pay them for their labour as they required it, and thus proceed on the same system as the free states, when they would soon equal them in production and prosperity.

Among the new objects to which public attention has been much attracted in Georgia, is the cultivation of the *morus multicaulis*, or Chinese mulberry, for the rearing of silk-worms and the production of silk. It will be remembered that a hundred years ago, in the first settlement of this tract as a British colony, the cultivation and manufacture of silk was

one of the objects which was to be specially encouraged and promoted, the soil and climate having been considered peculiarly favourable for this purpose. The recent introduction of the *morus multicaulis*, with its wonderful powers of re-production and multiplication, has, however, given an entirely new stimulus to this subject. Already there are two monthly periodicals in circulation here, one published in Baltimore, and one in Philadelphia, exclusively devoted to the silk question; there may be others, but these I have seen. Several Silk Societies have been established in different States of the Union: while from Maine to Florida, the *morus multicaulis* is cultivated, advertised for sale in every paper, and hundreds of thousands, or perhaps I might safely say, millions of cuttings disposed of at high prices. One person alone, at Augusta, sold 500,000 cuttings in the course of the last and present year, and realised a profit of 30,000 dollars by his labours; and it seems to have taken the place of the late land speculation, in exciting and occupying the minds of the more active money-getters of the community. On this subject some believe that the hopes entertained are visionary, and others regard them as well-founded, as the following article from the Public Ledger, of Philadelphia, just republished in the Macon papers, will show:—

“We are no very easy believers in *mania*, having observed the fate of some, and read about that of others. Our country was once visited by a *merino sheep mania*.

“Have we now a silk mania? No. Great zeal is now manifested for the cultivation of silk, and mulberry-trees command high prices. But on considering the quantity of silk consumed in the country, the prices paid for it, the increase of demand with

the increase of population and diminution of price, the capacity of our country for producing silk, the profits of the culture at prices much less than those paid for foreign silk, the public utility of the culture in furnishing employment to those who most need it, and the productiveness and early maturity of the Chinese mulberry, which will afford a *silk-producing* plantation in the second year, we can see no *mania* in the prices now paid for mulberry trees. On the contrary, we see that eagerness to obtain them which is founded upon a knowledge of results *demonstrated* to be *easily attainable*. The prices paid for trees in New York, on Saturday last, as noticed by our correspondent in another column, may appear extravagant to those who have not examined the subject. But to those who have experience in the cultivation of silk, and know the productiveness of the Chinese mulberry, these prices are not beyond their value. Trees two years old were sold for four dollars. But the planter of such a tree will find that in autumn, its produce, in trees worth no more than twenty-five cents, will be worth five times this cost, clear of all expenses.

“But we shall be told that if trees increase so rapidly, the whole country will soon be filled with them. Let us reckon. To produce all the silk now consumed in the United States, would require more trees than the whole stock now in the country would produce for the next five years. But shall we be able to produce silk enough for home consumption? Not in five years. But we venture to predict that in ten years we shall supply ourselves, and export largely to England of raw silk for her manufacturers. The Middle, Southern, and Western States, equal China for the production of silk, and therefore excel any part of Europe. Then what should prevent silk from becoming one of our exports? About forty-five years since, many thought that the United States could not produce *cotton*. Let cultivators of silk remember this, and persevere. We see no *mania* yet, in the eagerness of farmers to purchase mulberry-trees for silk orchards. When we do, we shall cry aloud and spare not, for we have no great respect for delusions.”

It is clear, however, that great efforts are making to try the experiment on such a scale as shall deter-

mine, by its results, how far the cultivation may be carried on to general advantage, and of the proceedings of the various Societies established for this purpose, the following may serve as a specimen, taken from the Macon Sentinel :—

Premiums for the Production of Silk.—The executive committee of the American Silk Society, in accordance with the constitution of the said Society, offer the following premiums, viz. :

“1st. For the greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk, produced by any individual, from cocoons of his or her own raising during the year 1839, one hundred dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“2d. To the person or association who shall make the greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk from one-fourth of an acre of ground, the trees of which shall have been planted in the year 1839, two hundred dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“3d. To the person or association who shall make the second greatest quantity of merchantable raw silk from one-fourth of an acre of ground, the trees of which shall have been planted in the year 1839, one hundred and fifty dollars, or plate, at their option.

“4th. For the best pound of sewing silk, made from cocoons of the competitors’ own raising, in 1839, fifty dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“5th. For the second best pound of sewing silk, made from cocoons of the competitors’ own raising in 1839, thirty dollars, or plate of that value, at their option.

“Five pounds of the silk offered for the first premium, and the whole quantity produced for the other four premiums, must be deposited with James O. Law, Treasurer of the American Silk Society, in Baltimore, previous to the next annual meeting of the Society, which takes place on the 11th December, 1839.

“GIDEON B SMITH, Cor. Sec. American Silk Society.”

New as Macon is, as a city, I was told that there had been already several attempts to set it on fire by incendiaries—two of which occurred in the last year only ; and the general supposition was, that these attempts were made by dissatisfied slaves, who either

hoped to be able to realise something by plunder, and effect their escape, or else to avenge themselves on their masters for real or fancied ill treatment. It may be numbered among the many disadvantages of slavery, that the master or owner loses one of the strongest holds that an employer has over a free domestic. If the servant in a free country behaves ill, the master can discharge him ; and the servant is thus punished for his fault by want of employment, the fear of which is sufficient to keep him, generally, in a state of obedience and anxious desire to please. The slave-owner, however, has no such remedy ; he cannot threaten to discharge a slave as a punishment, because this would be to give the slave that which he most desires, his freedom ; and the fear of his taking this, by running away, is often so great on the part of the master, that he is prevented from inflicting punishment to the extent he might desire, lest the slave should abscond, or take a sulky fit and not work, or poison some of the family, or set fire to the dwelling, or have recourse to any other mode of avenging himself. Among domestic slaves, all this would be perfectly easy ; and therefore masters are slow to irritate or offend them by much severity : but as the facilities for such modes of vengeance are fewer among the field-slaves, these are not so much dreaded, and therefore they are made to feel the full force of the owner's displeasure. That vindictiveness should seem a virtue, and not a crime, in the eyes of an uneducated and oppressed slave, who can wonder, when the higher classes among the Southern gentlemen set such examples of its practice, as in the case of the Speaker of the House of Assembly in Arkansas murdering a member on the floor of the

hall of legislature during the last year. Scarcely a month passes in the south-western States without some such scenes and examples.

There are three newspapers in Macon—the Telegraph, the Messenger, and the Southern Post; each published once a week; and a religious journal published once a month. The political papers are divided into State Rights, and Unionists; which division is here deemed of greater importance than that of Whig and Democrat. The mayor of the city, who is also president of one of the banks, and a merchant dealing largely in cotton, is the editor of one; and they are each conducted with as much of ability, and somewhat more of moderation and fairness, than the northern prints of the smaller towns generally. The newspapers of Georgia, however, are not behind those of the older States in the love of personal abuse; and though they do not appear often to originate articles of this description, the readiness with which they appear to copy them from other journals, when the object of the personality is a political opponent, or belongs to the other party, sufficiently proves their vitiated taste, in the encouragement of virulence and scurrility,

The difficulties in the way of getting payments both for newspapers by subscribers, and for insertions by advertisers, are said to be greater and greater as you advance south; the charges for both are, accordingly, much higher than in the north, as indeed they are for every description of labour, goods, or accommodation; but the vast amount lost by bad debts makes this necessary, and thus the punctual and the honest are made here, as elsewhere, to pay for the defaults of the careless and the unprincipled.

In the neighbourhood of Macon, on the opposite side of the river to that on which the town is built, are several mounds of different sizes, all of higher antiquity than the date of the earliest settlement here, which are believed to have been thrown up by the Creek Indians, or, as some suppose, by a race anterior even to them. They must be several hundred years old, at least, as on some of them are trees of a very large size, evidently grown there since the mounds were formed. Whether they were for purposes of fortification, or of burial, or of both, it is not easy to determine. In the midst of them is the spot originally occupied as Fort Hawkins, when this was the frontier post to the south-west of the white settlers in Georgia; and from its summit a commanding view of Macon and the surrounding country is enjoyed.

In making our excursion to this and some other places in the neighbourhood, we saw many of the country people coming into town; some on horseback, some in waggon, and some on foot. They were in general as primitive in their dress as the farmers of the remotest parts of England and Wales a century ago, as far as we can judge of these by the pictures and prints of their costume: single-breasted coats without collars, broad-brimmed and low-crowned hats, and grey hair floating in loose locks over the shoulders, were among their peculiarities; and in their conversation they were as rough as in their appearance. They are called by the town's-people, "Crackers," from the frequency with which they crack their large whips, as if they derived a peculiar pleasure from the sound; and in a local little volume, entitled "Georgia Scenes," which I had the opportunity of perusing while in Macon, and which are said to be

drawn to the life, it is clear that the manners of the planters in the interior, are generally dissipated, their language coarse, and their amusements as barbarous as they were in England three or four centuries ago. The appearance, indeed, of nearly all the men we saw from the country, as well as those travelling to and fro on the road as passengers by the stages, was reckless, dirty, dissipated, and vulgar, and greatly inferior to that of the American men seen in the Atlantic cities, from Savannah to Boston — especially those of the South.

In the course of our ride to and from the Indian mounds, we passed the dwelling of a free negro, named Solomon Humphries, whose history, as related to us by persons who had known him for years, was sufficiently remarkable to be detailed. He was originally a slave to a Georgia planter; but being a person of more than usual intelligence, activity, and probity, he was entrusted with confidential employments, and had special privileges granted to him. By these means he contrived to scrape together, bit by bit, the means of placing a small sum out at interest, and by the increase of this, with some fortunate purchases and sales, he acquired money enough to buy his own freedom. This being obtained, he commenced business on his own account, as a general dealer in such commodities as could be turned to profit. Being punctually honest in fulfilling his engagements, he was readily trusted beyond his actual means, and thus soon acquired money enough to buy the freedom of such of his own family and kindred as were near to him. Every year his exertions were well rewarded, till he at length got rich; and though

unable to read or write himself, the laws of the Southern States forbidding the teaching of slaves to do either, he obtained the services of two white clerks, who kept his books and wrote and replied to his letters ; till, by his skill and integrity, he acquired as large a credit as any merchant in the South. One gentleman of Macon assured me that he had given him credit for 10,000 dollars' worth of goods at a time, and was never under any anxiety as to its ultimate payment, and others dealt with him on the same scale.

The merchants and traders of the North with whom he dealt and corresponded, always paid him a visit when they came South for business or pleasure ; and as he kept an excellent house, with abundance of servants, and good fare, he very often entertained a large party of white persons at dinner, giving them choice dishes and excellent wines. He never ventured, however, to seat himself at the table, but waited on his guests, superintending and directing the details of the feast, which these white persons condescended to receive and enjoy at his hands, though they would have thought it an indignity offered to them if the giver of the entertainment, whose bounty they so unscrupulously enjoyed, should have dared to place himself at the head of his own board ! So revolting to every sense of propriety and justice are the notions and associations engendered by this prejudice of colour and caste ! This negro is still in comfortable circumstances, and still trades with the whites as before ; but he is no longer opulent, as his two white clerks, for whose engagements he made himself responsible, entered into

wild speculations with his funds, and squandered, in profligacy and dissipation, the profits of his concern, which he was obliged to contract in its operations, and carry on by himself, to avoid ultimate bankruptcy and ruin.

The case of this negro is constantly referred to as a proof that, after all, the African race is not so ill treated as the Abolitionists assert, and that, on the whole, their condition is better than that of the poor whites; it being forgotten, that if it were not for the benumbing influence of slavery, hundreds of instances similar to that of the negro adverted to, would be perpetually occurring; but the great difficulty being to get the first step, namely, to accumulate sufficient to purchase their freedom, they cannot get over this, and therefore cannot accomplish the rest. Here, too, as everywhere else that we had yet seen throughout the South, the state of the peasantry in Ireland, and of the children in the manufactories of England, and of the free States of the North, were continually pointed at, as worse than that of the slaves engaged in cultivation; forgetting, that supposing this to be true, one wrong can never justify another, and that all these conditions equally demanded reform. An article which appeared in one of the Georgia papers during our stay here, the "Daily Georgian," of Savannah, expresses this sentiment so fully and unequivocally, that it may be given entire, as an exact index of the general feeling here on this subject. The article is headed, "White Slavery," and proceeds thus:—

"The factory system which flourishes in the Eastern States, under the very auspices of those who are most fanatical in their

zeal to emancipate the African race, and give them all the rights enjoyed by the white citizens of this republic, is one fraught with abominations. Yet these zealous reformers overlook what is at their own doors, and stretch forth their organ of vision, to penetrate that which their disordered fancy pictures as existing at a distance.

“We, of the South, know comparatively little of the sufferings of the countless number of poor infants who toil from year to year, in these establishments, deprived in a great measure of both the air and light of heaven. The subject, however, is better understood in England, where the heartless system of inuring weakly children to perpetual labour originated. When we reflect that these innocent babes are, by the improvidence or poverty of their parents, let out to hire, at a period of life when they should, by right, be imbibing the principles of Christianity, and receiving at least the rudiments of an English education, we may well say that this system is at once subversive of morals and religion. Is it not, then, strange, that when the *soi-disant* philanthropists of England, and of America, were searching for blemishes in the face of society, and busy in endeavouring to uproot what they considered the great evils of the social system, they should be blind (not to say culpable) enough to pass over the worse than Egyptian bondage of so large a portion of their own race and colour, and be entirely destitute of charity for the tender and youthful beings, who, for a miserable pittance, were wasting their infant strength in adding to the store of luxuries for the opulent. No—all the tears flowed for the imaginary sufferings of the well-fed and contented descendant of Ham, whose life rolls on without care or sorrow, and who works with cheerfulness his daily task, happier in many instances than his master,—is well clothed in health, well nursed in sickness, and well taken care of in old age. Could our words reach the ears of the misguided people who are so much imposed on by the arch-leaders of the abolition movement, we would beg them to free the *White Slaves* of Great Britain, and of the manufacturing States of the North, before they interfere in the domestic institutions of the South. All the evils they complain of, as existing amongst us, may be found in bold relief, by examining the state of thralldom in which the factory

children are held, from the cradle to the tomb. Education is to them a dead letter—and religion can afford them little consolation. The ignorance in which they are brought up renders them almost incapable of appreciating the divine lessons of the gospel—even if their weary limbs, aching from the incessant work of a week, enables them to visit the temple of God on the Sabbath day. Ye who are Christians, and call yourselves philanthropists, look to this. Here is work for you. Commence to plough the stubble of this field, and all those who are lovers of rational freedom will cheer you on, and you will exhibit a convincing proof of your sincerity.

“We were induced to make these remarks, on perusing, in an English paper, the following article. It is peculiarly acceptable at the present time, and shows the great misery of the labouring classes, as well as the pharisaical spirit that animates the Abolitionists generally.”

An article is then given from an English paper, entitled “*Infant Labour in English Factories* ;” and because this blot stains the picture of English humanity, therefore it is sought to be inferred that slavery in America is no blot at all ! Such are the delusions which prejudice leads men to practice—first, on themselves, and then on each other ! How much more would the true freedom and happiness of the human race be advanced, if, instead of clinging to abuses, because they are practised by our own country, and denouncing evils because they belong to some other, we followed the more catholic practice of calling evil, evil—and good, good—wherever either existed ; thus placing the Inquisition of Spain, the bow-string of Constantinople, the knout of Russia, the conscription of France, the impressment of England, the white Slavery of the factory, and the black Slavery of the field—all on the same footing ; condemning all, because oppressive, and seeking

to remove all, as obstacles to the happiness of the great human family, without stopping to inquire by what nation they are practised, for the sake of palliation if by one, or for severer censure if by another. Instead of this, there are many who can feel the highest admiration for liberty, when they are themselves in the enjoyment of that blessing, but think nothing of the wrongs of those that are without it; and as a specimen at once of Georgia talent, and Georgia feeling of this description, I subjoin the following lines from the “Augusta Mirror:”—

G E O R G I A.

My native State ! my cherish'd home :
 Hallow'd alike by smile and tear,
 May glory o'er thee build her dome,
 And fame her temples rear :
 I love thee for thy burning sky,
 ' Neath which my feet have ever trod ;
 I love thee for the forms that lie
 Cold, cold beneath thy sod.

O ! gladly do I see the light
 That hovers round thy fortunes now—
 The spirit that must soon unite
 The sea and mountain's brow—
 The iron ties that soon will bind,
 In one indissoluble band,
 Place unto place, and mind to mind,
 Within thy wide-spread land !

In vain doth wild fanatic zeal
*Thy institutions all condemn :**
 On us be every wo or weal
 That emanates from them ;

* Slavery is usually called here “our peculiar institutions.”

To those who would thy ways molest,
 Who'd gladly spoil thy verdant scene,
 Be this response: "What God hath bless'd
 That call not ye unclean."

Art thou not bless'd, my cherish'd home?
 Thy sons are true, thy daughters fair;
 From mountain's crest to ocean's foam
 Thy land is free from care:
 Wealth glitters in thy golden mines,
 Health lives amid thy hills of blue,
 Religion's light above thee shines,
 And Plenty smiles here too.

Ay, there are hearts within thy land
 As warm, and brave, and pure, and free,
 As throb'd among the Spartan band
 Of old Thermopylæ;
 And like that band, should foes invade,
*To seek thy rights from thee to tear,**
 Thy sons will lift the sheathless blade,
 And bid them come who dare!

As cluster'd in the days of yore
 Thy heroes 'neath the "stripes and stars,"
 Unmindful of the sea of gore,
 And heedless of their scars:
 So evermore that banner round,
 In hours of peace, or days of strife,
 Shall be thy gallant children found,
 To guard it with their life.

God bless it! may its spangled wreath
 Be ne'er disgraced by sons of thine;
 Still may they cling its folds beneath,
 In one unbroken line:

* Meaning "the right to hold others in slavery."

And still in ages yet untold
 As brightly beam its glory's sheen
 As when it waved, with scanty fold,
 Above the old Thirteen !

My native State ! my cherish'd home !
 Hallow'd alike by smile and tear,
 May glory o'er thee build her dome,
 And fame her temples rear ;
 One hope is to my heart most dear—
 One boon at Fortune's hand I crave :
 Fate made me date my being *here*—
 Let fate make here my grave.

Savannah.

R. M. G.

Let us do justice, however, to that large portion of the American people, who are as hostile to the continuance of Slavery in any portion of their country, as this poet of the South is for its continuance. Such are all the Abolitionists of the North, numbering in their ranks many men and women who would be ornaments of any country on the globe. Among the first, it is enough to name Dr. Channing, whose reputation is as high in Europe as it is in America ; and among the second, it is sufficient to name Mrs. Sigourney, the poetess of New England, whose lines on Slavery may be fitly introduced, as a pendant to those of the young Georgian bard :—

SLAVERY.

“ Slavery is a dark shade on the map of the United States.”—*La Fayette.*

(Written for the Celebration of the Fourth of July.)

We have a goodly clime,
 Broad vales and streams we boast,
 Our mountain frontiers frown sublime,
 Old Ocean guards our coasts ;—

Suns bless our harvest fair,
With fervid smiles serene,
But a dark shade is gathering there—
What can its blackness mean ?

We have a birthright proud,
For our young sons to claim—
An eagle soaring o'er the cloud,
In freedom and in fame.
We have a scutcheon bright,
By our dead fathers bought :
A fearful blot distains its white—
Who hath such evil wrought ?

Our banner o'er the sea
Looks forth with starry eye,
Emblazoned, glorious, bold, and free,
A letter on the sky—
What hand with shameful stain
Hath marred its heavenly blue ?
The yoke, the fasces, and the chain—
Say, are these emblems true ?

This day doth music rare
Swell through our nation's bound,
But Afric's wailing mingles there,
And Heaven doth hear the sound.
O God of Power ? we turn
In penitence to thee,
Bid our loved land the lesson learn,—
To bid the Slave be **FREE**.

The scenery of the northern parts of the State is described, by those who have travelled through it, to be as beautiful as anything in Vermont, and as romantic as anything in the Alleghanies; but the roads are as yet so imperfect, and the houses of

accommodation so few, that the district is but rarely visited by mere tourists. About sixty miles from hence, in a northerly direction, is a mountain called the Stone Mountain, which rises abruptly in a perpendicular cliff on its northern front, and with a very steep ascent on all its other sides, from a perfectly level plain. It is said to present a perpendicular cliff of more than two thousand feet in elevation from its base; and from its summit a prospect of the surrounding country may be enjoyed for more than fifty miles in every direction; while in one part of the horizon, the Alleghanny mountains are visible at a distance of a hundred miles. The Tulloola and Tuscoa Falls, within this State also, but distant from this nearly two hundred miles, are said to be beautiful scenes, especially the former, where a great chasm, or rent, between two perpendicular cliffs of more than a thousand feet high, exhibits all the grandeur of the deep gorges of the Alps, and the cataract greatly adds to the beauty of the picture.

We attended worship in the Presbyterian church, on the last day of our stay in Macon; and heard, from the pastor, one of the most able and impressive sermons I had yet heard from an American pulpit. The text was from the epistle of Paul to Timothy, in which he warns him against the sin of covetousness, and uses those emphatic words—"For the love of money is the root of all evil." It was a composition that would have done honour to the most accomplished divine in Europe; but what added to its effect was, that it was preached with as much sincerity as fervour, the preacher's whole life being, it was said, in harmony with his doctrine; while there

is no country on earth in which such warnings against too eager a desire for riches are more required than in this. The service was admirably conducted; the music and singing good; and the whole deportment of the congregation attentive, orderly, and becoming. In no country, indeed, are places of worship entered or occupied with more respect and reverence than in this, where every one seems to come, not as a matter of weekly ceremony, or habitual custom, but to the performance of a solemn duty, to which they give themselves up wholly during their stay there. Such are the workings, in this country, of the plan of supporting religion by the voluntary system.

This church, which would accommodate more than 700 worshippers, was built by twelve gentlemen, at a cost of about 30,000 dollars, or £6,000 sterling; they taking upon themselves the reimbursement of their outlay by the sale of the fee-simple in the pews to resident families, each pew being considered worth 400 dollars; and they were nearly all taken or bought before the church was completed. There were certain free seats reserved for strangers or visitors, but not for the poor, as there are none so poor in towns like this, as to be unable or unwilling to pay for a pew, if resident in the town. A moderate assessment, made by the elders and trustees, on the pews, provides the minister's salary, which is cheerfully paid; and never could there be a more striking proof than that exhibited of the sermon of to-day, that such dependence on the payment of his hearers does not prevent the pastor from speaking boldly to them, reproving them, and warning them against their

most prevalent sins. The organ, which cost 1,500 dollars, was built at Philadelphia, and was the gift of a single individual. It is thus that the churches of America are voluntarily built, supported, and supplied, without the bitter contentions which divide the churches in England, arraying the flock against the shepherd, and the shepherd against the flock, in contentions about tithes, oblations, first-fruits, church-rates, and other claims.

C H A P. XIII.

Departure from Macon for Columbus—Anecdote of negroes—Extravagant charges—Hospitality and kindness of the people of Macon—Break-down of a Coach—Road to Knoxville—Negro Meg Merrilies, more than a century old—Peach orchards—German emigrants—Swiss girls—The river Flint—First steps of settlers—Appearance and condition of backwood families—Schools—Churches—Dram-shops—Animals—Birds—Post-offices—Executive patronage—Southern drivers—Use of tobacco—Aversion to labour—Value of negro slaves—Varieties of slave traffic—Daughters of American farmers—Cotton-gins and cotton-presses—Value of land—Bears on the rivers—Mount Sinai—Methodists—Orthodox and “Hard-shelled” Baptists—Commotion on amalgamation—Obliquities of moral views dependent on colour—Proportions of blacks to whites in Georgia—Alabama and Mississippi—Night scene in the woods—Arrival at Columbus—Discomfort of the large American hotels—Stay at Columbus—Falls of the Chathahoochee—Confectionaries—Dirks and bowie-knives sold by druggists—Story of a negro female slave.

THE inconvenient hour at which the regular stages pass through this town to the west, from 12 to 4 in the middle of the night, had induced us to seek for an extra coach in which to perform our journey from hence to Columbus; but, as none were to be had, we were obliged not only to start at this inconvenient period, but to sit up, in order to ascertain whether there was room for our party of four in the coaches running through, as no places could be secured to us beforehand. When the first arrived, which was near four o'clock, there were as many persons congregated around it, to see it come in and go out, as if it had been the first time of its passing

through ; so long has the curiosity to see, outlived the novelty of the object to be seen.

On this head we were told some curious anecdotes of the country people and the negroes of the town. It is not long since the first church-bell was erected in Macon ; and when it rang for the hour of worship on the sabbath, crowds of persons from the country would assemble in groups to see it, and watch its upward and downward motions with all the eagerness of children witnessing for the first time the movements of a new toy. The river of Macon, the Ocmulgee, is navigable by steam-boats of light draught of water, up to the bridge ; its length, by the circuitous windings of the stream, being about 600 miles. When the first steam-boat arrived here from Darien, it was in the middle of the night, so that the letting off the steam was heard with great distinctness, from the absence of all other sounds. The negroes not being informed of the expected arrival, and never having heard any similar noise before, arose in great alarm, and hurried to the spot to see what was its cause ; when perceiving the intense lights from the furnace, and observing the sparks vomited forth by the wood fires from the large chimney, accompanied with the violent hissing of a column of steam, or as they called it, “ white smoke,” some of them thought the last day had arrived, and deemed this the summons to judgment. Their ignorance and fear soon causing this impression to spread, in a short time it became general, and created the greatest consternation among the coloured multitude, which was only allayed by the return of daylight, and the sight of the boat in a state of quiet and repose.

In paying our bill at the hotel of Macon, before we left, we had reason to find that the charges were in the inverse ratio of the quality of the fare and accommodation. The table was miserably furnished ; the beds dirty and ill-provided ; yet for this wretched accommodation, we had to pay at the rate of twelve dollars, or two guineas and a half, per day, for a family of three persons and a man-servant. Every one assured us that the farther we proceeded onward in this direction, till we got to Mobile and New Orleans, the tables and beds would get worse and worse, and the charges be higher and higher. We therefore followed the advice of our friends, in laying in a stock of biscuits and other simple food, to be used on the road, in all cases in which the fare at the public tables should be revolting, which was likely often to happen ; and the hospitality of some of those friends having furnished us with the necessary materials for this, we were rendered, to a great extent, independent of inns, except for beds, a matter in which we were obliged to resign ourselves to our fate.

I may add, that here at Macon, as at some few other places, we had been urgently invited to take up-our abode with private families, who expressed a great desire to receive us as their guests ; but, from a wish to preserve ourselves as free as possible from obligations of this nature, we made it an invariable rule to decline such invitations, and to visit only as occasional guests. In the small towns of the country, however, we found the hospitality of the residents all that we could desire, and more than we could enjoy, mingled with the most genuine and cordial kindness.

At 4 o'clock on the morning of Monday the 11th of March, we took our seats in the mail for Columbus, with no very pleasing anticipations of our journey ; as the companion-coach, the Telegraph, which started from the same point at Augusta and had run all the way with the mail, was upset about two miles before reaching Macon. Its passengers, wounded and bruised, were brought on in the mail in which we were about to set forward ; the coach being left broken to pieces on the road. Our way until daylight was over an undulating surface, the road being as rough as before, and passing directly through a dense forest of pine-trees, the aspect of which was gloomy and monotonous in the extreme.

At twelve miles from Macon, we passed an inn, kept by Mr. Lachaise ; and this having the reputation of being one of the best on the road, we requested the driver to let us stop here for breakfast, it being near eight o'clock. But though there was only one passenger in the coach besides our party, and we were unanimous in our request, we could not prevail on him so far to accommodate us. We drove on, therefore, to Knoxville, a small village about thirteen miles beyond this, and there breakfasted at half-past ten. The fare was as rude as we had been taught to expect ; coffee weak and cold, tea without taste, eggs scarcely warmed through, and no bread but hot cakes of Indian corn. There was so evident a desire, however, on the part of the young landlord and his "landlordec"—as here, for the first time, we heard the mistress of an inn called—to meet our wishes, that their cheerfulness rendered the rudeness of the fare less disagreeable.

Soon after leaving Knoxville, while slowly ascending a hill, we overtook a very aged negress, well mounted on a beautiful horse. She was dressed in a fantastic manner, with an old black beaver bonnet, tied down with a dirty white handkerchief, like the gipsies of Europe, a plaid mantle, rather the worse for wear, floating over her shoulders, and a large crooked branch of a tree in her right hand, as a whip. Though her features were African, her complexion was not quite black, but a sort of reddish brown, such as characterizes the mixed offspring of the Negro and Indian races, of which class she probably was. She had not a tooth left, and her voice was loud, hoarse, and croaking; though her dark eye was full of fire and expression. As she drew up to the coach-window and accosted us, we thought we had never seen a more perfect picture of the Meg Merrilies of the Northern Wizard. On her salute of "good morning" being returned, we asked her how she did; and her reply was, "I'm a young girl yet, though over a hundred years old, and this morning I'm going a frolicking." We thought she must be crazy; but the stage-driver and our fellow-passenger, who knew her well, said she was an old slave of a planter in this neighbourhood; that she was born at Newburn in North Carolina, and that she was undoubtedly more than a century old, though vigorous enough to ride on horseback several miles a day. Her owner, ever since she had passed her hundredth year, had allowed her a fine horse, with a handsome saddle and bridle, to ride about the country. This she decorated, as well as herself, with the most fantastic ornaments, and calling herself

"The Sheriff," she rode from one plantation to another, hearing and telling the news, delighting in gossip, always finding something to eat and drink, and some one to help her on her horse when she departed.

On each side of our way, in patches from which the forest trees had been cleared, were peach orchards, the trees of which were now in full blossom, and their beautiful pink colour enlivened the deep green of the never-ending pines. The peach of these orchards is smaller, redder, and more acid than the English peach. It is chiefly used to distil a liquor from it, called "peach brandy," great quantities of which are consumed in the State.

We passed also a party of German emigrants going farther west, bivouacking in the woods. A little covered cart, with tattered awning, conveyed all their moveables, but the people themselves went on foot, except an occasional ride for the women and children; and their mode of life was perfectly gipsy-like through all their journey. Being among the most sober of the emigrants from Europe, they are the most successful, and their services are always preferred to those of the intemperate Irish, whose lives are thought here to be not more than three years on the average, after their landing; the abridgment of their natural term being caused wholly by drinking to excess.

Some of the German and Swiss broom-girls find their way here also, and gain a handsome livelihood and a surplus on which to return home, after a few years. We saw a party of half-a-dozen remarkably handsome young females, in Macon, who travelled

in company with their two brothers, of men's age, and a younger brother, quite a boy; and by singing, dancing, and selling brooms, they had accumulated, it was thought, a handsome little fortune, or what at least would be so considered among the peasants of Germany and Switzerland. The boy, though not more than ten years of age, was an excellent performer on the pianoforte; and one mode by which he ingratiated first himself, and the nall his party, into the good graces of the American families, was by asking if there was a piano in the house, and offering to play them some German music, at his skilful execution of which they were usually astonished, and rewarded him accordingly. As there is scarcely a dwelling of the most ordinary kind containing American females, in which there is not a pianoforte, almost all the female children being taught to play a little on it—though very few indeed evince either taste or skill, or make any progress beyond the few first lessons—so the instrument itself is found everywhere; and any good performance on it by a stranger is regarded with surprise.

About seven miles beyond Knoxville, we crossed the Flint river on a raft, on which the stage and four horses were drawn across by a rope. The stream is narrow and shallow here; but it becomes navigable for boats of large burden farther down, and joins the Chatahoochee river on the northern borders of Florida. These united streams then form the Apalachicola, which empties itself into the bay of that name, on the northern shore of the gulf of Mexico.

From this point onward the marks of settlement were more frequently seen in all their various stages.

The first is the "girdling of trees," as it is called, which is the process of cutting round a girdle or hollow band near the root, by which all the bark of the tree is removed, and the vessels for the ascent of its sap are destroyed. The tree thus perishes in a few years, by losing all its bark and leaves ; and it is impossible to imagine anything more dreary and desolate than the sight of a large number of trees in this state of death and decay. Another process is that of setting fire to the underwood, and charring the trunks of such trees as are dry enough to bear the operation of fire. The flames sometimes, however, spread faster and farther than is intended, especially if the wind is high ; and it was said that within the past week only, more than 100,000 rails of fine wood, recently used up in fences for the adjoining lands, had been destroyed by fire, and consumed so rapidly that no effort could arrest its progress. A third process is, the cutting down the trees with the axe ; but this is often left till the ground has been ploughed, and sown with corn, and yielded two or three crops ; because, as the greater number of trees are fit only for fire-wood, pitch-pine being the most numerous, it is desirable to let these remain erect till they are wanted, and not to cumber the ground with their presence.

It sometimes happens, however, that when a tornado, or whirlwind, sweeps over the forest, which it often does in May and June, when the ground is wet and loose after heavy rains, many of the trees having but a slender hold with their roots, it tears up hundreds of them at a gust ; and we saw many thousands of such trees, right and left, in our journey

of many miles, so prostrated, some with all their branches and leaves on, but the greater number bare and bleak, lying in heaps on the ground, to the great injury of the owner, as it was impossible to plough the land on which they lay, and to burn, or to remove them, was equally slow and expensive.

Along the whole of the road, for nearly all the distance from Knoxville to Talbotton, log-huts and rising settlements, hardly yet amounting to villages, were seen, the edge of the road being favourable for sending produce to market, and receiving supplies. But the soil here is not so good, as the road runs along the summits of ridges, where the ground is high, and hard or sandy, the rich lands being in the bottoms or water-courses on each side. The settlers' first dwelling, however, is usually erected near the road, and the low lands are brought into cultivation as they can be cleared afterwards.

It is difficult for any one living in England to appreciate the difficulties, toils, and privations which a settler and his family have to undergo in clearing land, and surrounding themselves with even the barest necessities. Every member of the family must work hard, from daylight to dark, the women as well as the men, and the children as well as the grown people. We saw many boys and girls, of not more than six or seven years of age, some using small axes, others carrying wood, and others assisting in domestic duties. In general they were very dirty in their persons, the mother being too weary to wash them; ragged and ill-fitted in their clothes, there being no tailor or dressmaker to make them; and some of the boys especially reminded me of

Cruikshank's ludicrous sketch of a "boy wearing out his father's garments," for many of them had the coats and hats of grown men, so that the former came down below their ankles, and the latter covered their eyes, and required constant lifting. They were all apparently unhealthy, parents and children looking pale and haggard, over-worked in body, and over-pressed with thought and anxiety in mind. What adds greatly to the disadvantage of their situation is, that there are no schools, Sundays or weekdays, and very few places of worship; while dram-shops, under the name of confectionaries, exist in great numbers, where sweetmeats, cordials, and spirits are to be had so cheap, that the poison is abundant and the remedy scarce; so that the border population, surrounded by such circumstances, can hardly fail to be reckless and unprincipled.

Among the animals in use, we saw many fine oxen, some few cows, still fewer sheep, and a very few goats. Mules are more numerous than horses, they are bred here for draught, and imported also from Kentucky, being worth on an average 100 dollars each. Hogs are the most abundant of all, their flesh constituting almost the only animal food used by the settlers. In the woods, the turtle-dove was the only bird we saw in any numbers; a solitary mocking-bird was occasionally seen; but though it was now the season in which it might be said, "for, lo! the winter is past, the rains are over and gone, and the time of the singing of birds is come," we were never once cheered, in all our journey, by the sounds of the feathered choir, that make the woods of "merry England" redolent of song. Of course,

the noise of the wheels would prevent our hearing birds while the coach was in motion, but it was the same dead silence everywhere that we halted ; though perhaps, in the depth of the forest, and remote from the public road, it might have been otherwise ; this at least we had not experienced.

As we were journeying in the mail-stage, we had to stop at every post-office ; and these are so numerous, one occurring every ten or twelve miles, that it was impossible to have a separate bag for each ; so that at each office the great mail-bag had to be opened, the letters examined to see if there were any for that station or district, and then it was necessary to make up the bag again, repeating the same process at every office. As this took half an hour at least, and our rate of travelling never exceeded six miles an hour, the mail was frequently overtaken and left behind by the ordinary stage-coaches. The rate of charge for fare is the same, however, in each, being about a dollar for every ten miles as the cheapest, and a dollar for every eight miles as the dearest on the road.

The post-offices, which are very humble buildings, and often mere sheds, are more numerous, it is said, than the correspondence of the country requires ; but as the appointment of the postmasters rests with the president, this forms a large branch of executive patronage. Since the days of General Jackson, it is well known that the only qualification required for such appointment, has been the advocacy of the politics of the ruling party ; there is thus an army of political postmasters arrayed on the side of the Administration. The post-offices in the country and districts here

are like the old barbers' shops in English villages a century ago — places for the idle and the gossiping to assemble and discuss the news. To add to the attractions of the post-offices here, many of them are also "confectionaries," at which liquors of all kinds are freely sold; and the class of persons usually assembled to hear the news on the arrival of the mail, were among the most dirty, dissipated, and reckless in their appearance.

The drivers on this road were very inferior to those of the Northern States in deportment and language; they were often insolent, always unaccommodating, and frequently most profligate in their oaths; while, having no fee to expect from the passenger, they appeared to me to be studiously disrespectful, as if they sought that mode of displaying their independence. We sometimes hoped to get a better, by their frequent change, as each driver went only the one stage with his team, usually from ten to twelve miles, but there was a great uniformity in their worthlessness. These, as well as most of the men of these parts, that we had yet seen, had tall gaunt figures, wanting firmness and compactness, though not deficient in strength. They were all ill-dressed, scarcely a garment fitting them well, being more like ready-made clothes bought at a venture, than fitted by any tailor. The greater number went without neckcloths, some without coats, and a good hat was a rarity. Instead of woollen cloths, a kind of grey, or blue-and-white cotton cloth, of domestic manufacture, was used for coats and trousers. Tobacco was in almost universal use, and the youngest of boys were seen chewing and smoking;

while the number of idlers lounging about as though they had nothing to do, could only be accounted for by the fact, that here the negro slave does the greatest part of the labour, while his white master receives the profits of it.

As we passed a spot where some negroes were cutting up the wood for rails or fences—all the divisions between different properties being made here by the zig-zag, or snake-fence—our fellow-passenger, who was himself a slave-owner, said that such negroes as these, stout healthy men, were worth in the market from 1000 to 1200 dollars, or from £200 to £250 each. On asking him the cause of this high price, he said it was owing to several circumstances, but especially the following: first, a demand for slaves to clear the new lands in Texas; secondly, a demand for slaves to cultivate cotton in Alabama, and sugar in Louisiana; and thirdly, a demand for slaves to work on the many new railroads now making all over the country. These new sources of demand had given, he said, great increased value to negro property; and more money, he thought, was at this time made by trading in slaves within the United States, than by almost any other occupation. Many speculators travelled over the older States of Virginia and Maryland, bought up the surplus stock found in the hands of the slave-breeders there, and brought them to the South, for a profitable market. Others purchased slaves within the State, and hired them out to work on the railroads, making, as interest on their investment, from 30 to 50 per cent, while capital invested in planting did not yield more than 20 per cent on the average.

In the course of our ride, we stopped at a log-hut, to take in a young lady as passenger. She was apparently about 14 or 15, and, like almost all the American females at that age, was remarkably pretty, with as much feminine delicacy as would be seen in the highest circles in England, though with less of polish or of grace. Though coming from so humble a dwelling, her apparel was of silk, while the gold rings on her white and taper fingers, and the green veil hanging from her Leghorn bonnet, showed that her hands had not been much inured to labour, or her complexion much exposed to the sun.

There is a great difference between the condition and appearance of young females in the humbler ranks of life in England and America. In the former, they labour to assist their parents, by which they get an air of roughness, and rude health, accompanied with a plainness of attire, such as is thought becoming in persons of inferior station. Here, except it be among the emigrants and first settlers, who are mostly foreigners, few females assist their mothers in household or any other duties. They are brought up to be waited on by a negro girl, who does all that is required; and every white woman's daughter, begins from the earliest years to think herself a lady. Fine dress and delicate appearance, with an imitation of genteel manners, are the business of her life, until she gets married, which is here often at 14 and 15; and then her utter inefficiency as a mother may be readily conceived.

On the road we passed a few cotton-gins, for separating the seed from the cotton. Each crop produces about four times as much seed as is necessary

to plant the same space on which it was produced ; and the residue is sold for seed-cotton, to supply new plantations. We saw also several cotton-presses, in the fields, for pressing the cotton when it is packed into bales, though the greatest number of these are under cover. Cotton and Indian corn are the chief productions of all the cleared lands here. The value of such land was estimated at from ten to twenty-five dollars an acre, according to its position, before a single tree was cleared. The whole of the land in this State being now appropriated as private property, none remaining any longer in the hands of either the general or the State governments, large fortunes will be made by such as can afford to hold their possessions, (nearly all having bought at a dollar and a quarter per acre,) as every year adds considerably to its value, and some few patches in the bottom lands are already deemed worth fifty dollars an acre at least.

We crossed many running brooks, sometimes passing through the water, but more frequently over a corduroy bridge, composed of round trunks of trees with the bark on, laid side by side, sometimes close to each other, but often with spaces of two or three inches between them ; and the shaking, in passing over these, was such as to twist every muscle in the body. In those bottom lands, and along the banks of the streams, wild bears are sometimes seen, but these are getting fewer every year, though along the borders of the Flint river they are said to be still very numerous.

The only place of worship we passed in all our day's ride, was a new clap-board meeting-house, just erected on the edge of the woods, near the road-side,

but not yet opened. It was named Mount Sinai, and might truly be called a "tabernacle in the wilderness." It was built by the Methodists, who are here, as everywhere, the pioneers of religious instruction, as their system of circuits and itinerant preaching peculiarly fit them for going into the rude and untrodden paths, to open a highway for those who are to follow after them. A fact was mentioned to us here, as of recent occurrence, which will sufficiently shew the necessity of more churches and more preachers, to correct the present state of things. In this quarter there are two descriptions of Baptists : the orthodox, or evangelical, who are practically as well as theoretically pious, and disposed to assist in all benevolent undertakings ; and the Antinomians, or, as they are here called, "hard-shelled" Baptists, who preach the doctrines of unconditional election and reprobation in their severest forms, and whose practice shows how little importance they attach to good works. In the neighbourhood of the road between Knoxville and Talbotton, was a small chapel, which belonged to the latter ; and one of the preachers of the former wanted to occupy it on a Sabbath evening, when the others had no service, but it was refused. There was then a great question agitating the public mind here, whether Christianity should be preached to the slaves, and missionaries be permitted to go among them for this purpose or not. The evangelical Baptists desired this ; but the "hard-shelled" order opposed it. In this they were supported by the majority of the whites here, who conceived that preaching to slaves would only make them more dissatisfied with their condition, and encourage them

to rebel against their masters. The "hard-shelled" minister denounced missions and missionaries, from his pulpit, and was applauded and caressed by his hearers. The evangelical minister commended missions and missionaries, from such elevated stumps as he could find among the trees to preach from, and he was insulted and driven off the ground; since which the "hard-shelled" Baptists are said to have had everything their own way, in this quarter.

A competition or rivalry of a different description took place here recently, and has but just ended, among the proprietors of the three lines of coaches running on this road. The fare from Macon to Columbus, a distance of ninety miles, was twenty dollars, while the mail-stage had the monopoly. A second line was set up, and reduced it to ten dollars. A third line followed, and brought it down to five dollars. The two former reduced their rates to one dollar; and the new adventurers absolutely carried their passengers for nothing, while the hotels furnished them with dinner and champagne at the cost of the coach-proprietors! This could of course last but a little while: all parties soon saw the folly of such a career of mutual loss, which must end in the ruin of one or more, if persisted in, and they settled on a compromise of all running at the same hours, and the same rates, ten dollars per ninety miles. As, however, there are rarely more than enough passengers to fill one coach, they are all losing money, even at this rate, yet fear to raise it, lest a higher fare might tempt some new competitor into the field.

It was five o'clock when we reached Talbotton, a pretty little place, forming the principal town of the

county of Talbotton, and having a good brick court-house, a large inn, many shops and stores, and some very neat and tasteful private dwellings. The place was in a great commotion about a piece of scandal that had set the whole community by the ears; though, at first, the story was unintelligible to us. A young girl of the neighbourhood had been recently married, at little more than twelve years of age, and the rumour had gone abroad that the first offspring of this young mother, produced after seven months' gestation, was "a mule!" This tale, which at first shocked us by its grossness, and then became incredible from its absurdity, was rendered more intelligible by an explanation that this was a cant phrase to denote a "coloured child." The inference intended to be drawn from this slander was, not only that the child was not the husband's, but that its real parent was a coloured person; an offence which, in the language of some of those whom we heard speak of it, "all the waters of Georgia would be insufficient to wash out." It had been already ascertained that the child was no browner than many white children are known to be at birth, who get fairer afterwards; and there was nothing in its features or hair to indicate African blood, even in the second or third degree; so that public indignation was now beginning to be turned from the innocent mother, to the criminal originator of the scandal; and it was thought that if he or she could be discovered, and the proof of guilt be brought home to them, nothing short of their assassination would appease the incensed community.

Many were the exclamations uttered on this occasion against the Abolitionists, and the horrors of

amalgamation ; but when I endeavoured indirectly to draw from some of the speakers their opinion as to the frequent amalgamation, by African mothers having offspring by American fathers, no sort of censure was thought due to this. It was not denied that there were many instances in which white men became fathers of offspring by their own negro women, and as the children follow the fate of their mothers, such offspring would be his slaves, and might be lawfully sold by him as his property, and often were so disposed of ! Such is the obliquitous morality of those who are loudest in the expression of their horror at amalgamation, when imputed to the Abolitionists !

From one of the residents of Talbotton, who was our fellow-passenger here, I learnt, what I confess surprised me, yet he assured me it was true, that though in the large towns of Georgia, and particularly those to the eastward, such as Savannah, Augusta, and Macon, the white population and the blacks were nearly equal in numbers ; yet, taking the State all through, the proportion was at least ten negroes to one white ; the number of negroes employed in the cotton plantations causing this great difference. In Alabama, where I expected the disproportion would have been greater, he said it was less, being not more than four negroes to one white ; but this he accounted for by stating that a great many poor white families were settled in Alabama as cultivators, and did the work there, which negroes perform here. The most startling part of all was, however, that in Mississippi, the next adjoining State, the number of negroes was at least fifty to one white person ; though even here, he said, they were

not in such constant apprehension of danger as they were in Charleston. This he attributed to the circumstance that in Alabama nearly all were slaves, and so scattered and employed incessantly in labour, that they had not the means of combination ; whereas, in Charleston, the number of free blacks was very considerable ; and as many of these had leisure and means, and communicated freely with the slaves, a union and concentration of their sympathies made them much more dangerous, though their numbers were so much fewer, and their proportion to the whites so much less, than in the State of Mississippi. The gentleman who made these statements was himself a slaveholder, an anti-missionary man, and a great hater of the Abolitionists.

On our way from Talbotton to Columbus, there were many log-huts near the road, and much ground fenced-in for clearing ; but our way was through endless forests of pine, under the varied aspects already frequently described. When the sun had set, and the night was fairly closed in, the fires, still burning in many parts of the woods, glared, from various points, and exhibited a wild and romantic picture ; the red glow of light in the heavens reflecting the blaze below, and adding much to the impressiveness of the scene. Every now and then we passed by a log-hut, through the open chinks of which, the light could be so well seen, as to form horizontal lines of red, alternating with the dark logs of wood between, while here and there, in the very deepest recesses of the forest, would be seen the twinkling taper of some distant cottage, dimmed by the blue haze which usually follows the close of

a sultry day, as this had been. The thermometer at noon was above 70°, though on this day week, it had been down to 20°: and while the forest trees on each side presented a dark mass of foliage at their summits, and the tangled grape-vines and creepers, mixed with the smaller trees, formed impenetrable thickets below, the sky above our heads was of the brightest azure, and spangled with stars that shone out with more than ordinary lustre, making the whole scene a mixture of the solemn, the beautiful, and the sublime.

It was midnight before we reached Columbus, where we found accommodation, such as it was, at the Oglethorpe Hotel, and here we determined to remain for the night, as the roughness of the roads, the violence of the motion—which had twice broken down our coach, and obliged us to halt for its repair on the way—and the wretchedness of the fare at all the tables we had seen, made us anxious to rest and recruit for a day. The hotel was very large, and the rooms more spacious than usual; but though not built more than four or five years, it had all the defects of a much older building. The doors of the rooms were many of them shattered, hinges and locks out of repair, windows broken, and sashes and blinds out of order, without any attempt being made to remedy all this. It seems quite characteristic, indeed, of the Southern hotels to have almost everything in need of repair. When the building is once erected and finished, no one seems to take any pains to keep it in good condition; but when things get injured they are suffered so to remain till they are altogether worn out.

All the servants here being slaves, and no master or mistress of Southern hotels appearing to take the least interest in the reception or accommodation of their visitors, those who arrive are entirely dependent on these slaves for whatever they require. Though three coaches stopped at the door, no one was ready to receive them. The negroes belonging to the house were all lying huddled together on the floor, none of them being provided with more than a blanket, which they rolled round them, but without bedding or pillow. They sleep so soundly that it is a matter of the greatest difficulty to wake them; and even then, it requires a long time to make them understand what you wish. Not a single bed-room that we were shown into was ready, the beds being unmade, the rooms unprepared, and all in disorder and confusion; the reason alleged was, that it was quite time enough to get rooms ready, when they were sure they would be wanted. Everything being in disorder, therefore, it took an hour, at least, to put the room in decent condition; and even then it was most uncomfortable.

The usual practice of putting the bed up close to the wall, so that one side of it only can be got at, and this in the largest rooms, as well as the smallest, makes it impossible to adjust the bed-clothes comfortably. When attempting to draw the bed farther out to do this, the whole bedstead fell to pieces, though it was nearly new. It was merely put together, without nails, screws, or cords, and was never intended to be moved from the position in which it was fixed, either for washing, sweeping, airing, or any other purpose; and accordingly the

servants never attempted it. No bells are ever found in these hotels, though they are so large, and the servants are so far off and so stupid, that there is more need of bells here than in any other country; no curtains to the beds, broken wash-stands, basins without jugs, or jugs without basins, a dressing-glass shifted from room to room as required, no clothes' pins or pegs to hang a great coat, cloak, or any other garment on, and no closets or wardrobes to supply this deficiency—in short every thing is so rude and imperfect as to excite one's astonishment that the keepers of such establishments should ever suffer them to remain so a single day, until it is remembered that the masters of American hotels, being generals, colonels, and majors, are too much of gentlemen to superintend anything except receiving the money; while their wives are still more disinclined to trouble themselves with household affairs; so that everything is left to the bar-keeper or clerk, and the slaves under his direction; and these last, having no interest in the matter, neglect everything but what they are actually compelled to do; and therefore all things fall speedily into disorder.

In this hotel, the out-door accommodation for gentlemen (water-closets being a luxury here unknown) was worse than I had ever before found it, bad as this is in every part of the United States; but it would seem that as the traveller goes South, where the increased warmth of the climate would require greater attention to personal comfort and purity, as well as to cleanliness of apartments and food, everything gets worse; and we thought that we

had here arrived at the *ne plus ultra* of disorder, neglect, and dirtiness ; though we were told, in the ordinary phrase, that we might "go farther and fare worse," and moreover be obliged to pay more and more extravagantly, as the accommodations grew less acceptable.

We remained at Columbus during the whole of Tuesday ; and though much fatigued, had an opportunity of seeing something of the town, and some of its most respectable citizens, to whom I had letters of introduction. The town is only ten years old, being one of the newest places of any size in this part of the country, yet it already contains about 8,000 inhabitants, in nearly equal proportions of black and white ; and both its public and private buildings are substantial, commodious, and ornamental.

The river Chatahoochee, on the eastern bank of which it is seated, has, opposite to the town, some romantic ledges of dark granite rock, forming rapids, or falls, and interrupting the navigation of the stream above this point, except for small boats and canoes ; but from hence downward, for 600 miles, steam-vessels navigate easily to the sea, in the bay of Apalachicola, at the north eastern head of the gulf of Mexico. It has a covered wooden bridge, like a closed tunnel, crossing the stream, reposing on two piers, and lighted by windows at the sides.

In the town itself, we observed a more than usual number of the places called "Confectionaries," where sweetmeats and fruits are sold ; but the great staple supplies of which are peach-brandy, whiskey, rum, and other ardent spirits, of which the consump-

tion here, by all classes and in various forms, is said to be considerable. We observed also, what to us was a novelty, the open sale of dirks, bowie-knives, and a long kind of stiletto, called the "Arkansas toothpick." These are sold by druggists, in whose shops or stores these deadly weapons are hung up for public inspection, and sold by them as part of the legitimate wares of their calling; thus plainly indicating, that weapons to kill, as well as medicine to cure, could be had at the same shop; and placing, beside the deadly poisons of arsenic, laudanum, hemlock, and hellebore, the deadly weapons of no less fatal power.

In the hotel in which we stopped, was a fine full-length portrait of General Mackintosh, the Indian chief of the Creek nation. Though the people of America seem anxious to get rid of the actual presence of the Indian people, and have them transported to the westward of the Mississippi, they have great admiration for their principal warriors, as if their names and exploits formed part of the national history of their country. Accordingly, no pictures are more popular than portraits of such men as Black Hawk, Keokuck, Red Jacket, Osceola, Mackintosh, and others; and their varied and richly-coloured costume, make them good subjects for pictures.

It was a peculiar fancy of the hotel-keeper with whom we lodged, to call his children after the names of the several States, and we had accordingly a morning visit from four young ladies of the family, whose names were Georgia, Carolina, Virginia, and Louisa-anna. We learnt, during our stay here, a fact res-

pecting the state of social life and morals among the slave population employed in domestic servitude, which, as it came to us in the most authentic shape, is worth noticing, as a specimen of what we were assured was of very common occurrence. A female slave, born in Georgia, had been brought up in the house of her white master, and had given birth to a child, of whom one of the white master's visiting friends was the father. When the child grew up, it was thought desirable, for the father's sake, to send both the mother and child away to some other State, and as both were the property of the white master, (for offspring in this country follow the fate of their mothers, so that the coloured child of a white father becomes the property of the master to whom the slave-mother belongs,) it was proposed to send them both into Alabama for sale. As all the slaves have a great horror of being sent to the south or the west,—for the farther they go in either of these directions, the harder they are worked, and the worse they are used—great objection was made to this, and the mother declared she would “sulk,” so that nobody should buy her, and she would rather kill her brown boy than let him go to Alabama. As either of these steps would lessen the value of the master's property, and as the negroes have often resolution enough to put such threats into execution, the master began to hesitate, and the matter was compromised, by the mother being sold into the western part of the same State, and removed from Augusta to Columbia, while the child was sent farther east, to Charleston in South Carolina, and there is very little probability of their ever seeing each other again.

Such separations as these are quite common, and appear to be no more thought of, by those who enforce them, than the separation of a calf from its brute parent, or a colt from its dam. As the mother was an excellent house-servant, so large a sum as 1200 dollars, or nearly £250 sterling, was given for her by her present owner ; and he hired her to the master of the hotel, for a fixed sum in monthly wages, the amount of which was 20 dollars, giving the owner, therefore, an interest of 20 per cent. on his investment ; out of which he had no deduction to make for her maintenance, as the person hiring her undertook to feed and clothe her. For the latter, however, she was entirely dependent on any little presents received from travellers visiting the hotel ; though this was very trifling, as it is not the custom to give fees to the servants in America : indeed, the charges are generally so high, as to indispose persons to add gratuities to the attendants. The condition of a large race of unfortunate dependents, among whom such instances as these are common, may therefore be better imagined than described.

CHAP. XIV.

Leave Georgia for Alabama—Contrast of scenery and condition—Wildness and solitude of the forest—Reach Tuskegee—Story of the landlady—Rising village—Excellent school in the woods—Halt for the night at a log-hut—Vindictive spirit of the Indians and their breed—Cubahatchee—Improved aspect of the country—Fine houses—Large and productive plantations—Corduroy roads—Break-down of the coach—Negro-repairs—Village of Mount Meigs—Second breakdown—Wretched appearance of the plantation slaves—Express mail from New York to New Orleans—Arrival at Montgomery.

WE felt so much fatigued by our rough journeys from Augusta to Macon, and Macon to Columbus, that we were unwilling to encounter another night's travelling in the same way; and as the regular stages all pass through here at night, there was no way of escaping the evil we desired to avoid, but by taking an extra coach for our exclusive use, and giving two days to the journey of little more than ninety miles. After considerable negotiation, we were enabled to effect this, but at the extravagant charge of 120 dollars, or about £25 sterling.

In this coach we left Columbus at eight o'clock on the morning of Wednesday the 13th of March; and crossing the river Chathahooche a little below the falls, by the wooden bridge described, we entered on the state of Alabama, the river being the dividing line or boundary between the two.

The change of aspect in scenery and condition was very striking. The woods, into which we were entering, seemed more wild, the road being a mere

pathway through and around standing trees, the tops of which touched our heads in many places; the land was poorer in quality, but being more undulated in surface, the swamps in the bottoms were more abundant; the brooks ran with greater impetuosity, and the bridges over them were more rude than any we had yet seen. Rough corduroy roads occurred for many hundred yards at a time, and loose planks laid across horizontal beams, supported on single pillars, but neither nailed nor fastened, served for bridges; while frequently the coach would have to go through water deep enough to come close up to the coach-door, and threaten us, by the slightest false step, with immersion. The stations, where we changed horses, were mere log-huts, used as stables: and all the way, for miles in succession, we saw neither a human being, a fence, a rood of cleared land, nor anything indeed that could indicate the presence of man, or the trace of civilization, so that we felt the solitude of the woods in all its fulness.

This description applies to all the tract of land for many miles beyond the river Chathahoochee; and it was said that whoever came as far as that towards Georgia, were more disposed to go on and fix their settlement in that State, than in Alabama, which seems to have a bad name even among those who reside in it. Beyond this belt, signs of settlement began gradually to appear, but even these were of the rudest kind. A blacksmith's shop, a few log-huts, and a "confectionary," with the ever-ready poison of strong drink, constituted a village; and for forty miles of our road we saw only one instance of a store where any other goods could be procured; this being

a log-house recently devoted to the purpose of a general drapery and grocery warehouse.

It was five o'clock, or nine hours after our setting out from Columbus, when we reached the little village of Tuskegeea, forty-five miles from Columbus ; and here we should have halted for the night, but that there were yet two good hours of daylight, and we were desirous of making the second day's journey as short as practicable. The inn, at which we changed horses, was one of the neatest and cleanest we had seen in the South ; and though very humble in its appearance and furniture, there was such an air of neatness, cleanliness, and order about it, that it excited our warm commendation. The landlady, having her sympathies touched by our praise of her management and arrangement, entered voluntarily into conversation with us, and told us the outline of her history.

She said that her husband and herself had both been brought up without having been taught the proper value of money, so that they had not been long married before they had run through all they possessed. In this extremity they had only a choice between two evils, one of which was to go to Texas, where people who were unfortunate had land given to them, and could get on fast, by industry and care ; the other was to purchase a small piece of land in some rising village nearer home, and, by a little harder labour and more rigid economy, get on quite as well, though not quite so fast, as in Texas. They preferred the last, and came here about three years ago ; it was then that the first tree was cut down to form the village of Tuskegeea, where some

Creek Indians of that name had just vacated a settlement, to go beyond the Mississippi. These Indians, she said, had been a terror to all the whites of the neighbourhood, and massacred many families in cold blood; and her statement was confirmed to us in many quarters. Among other instances of their ferocity and cruelty, we heard at Columbus, that some years ago a stage-coach had been attacked by them in the forest, and after securing the horses for their own use, the Indians broke up the coach, and burnt it in the middle of the road. They then made the passengers prisoners, and scalping them all, men, women, and children, they placed them in a small wigwam, to which they set fire, and burnt them all alive! In Florida, to the present hour, the Seminoles commit similar outrages on the whites wherever they can find them; and we heard from two ladies going to St. Augustine, that within the last two years, nearly every white family living within two or three miles of these towns, had been put to death by the Indians.

Since the settlement of this landlady and her husband, who was a general, at Tuskegee, they had prospered exceedingly, were every year adding to their substance, and surrounding themselves with comforts and means of enjoyment. A good population had been attracted near them, comprising upwards of 300 persons; and there was now an excellent school, in which more than 100 youths of both sexes received the best education given in the country, from a male teacher from Mobile, and a female teacher from the celebrated seminary at Troy, in the State of

New York. The teachers were said to be very competent, and received 1000 dollars, or about 200*l.* a year each ; and music, drawing, and languages were taught, as well as the ordinary branches of an English education. No village of 300 persons in England could certainly produce the parallel of this, more especially a village only three years old.

Our next stage from hence was a distance of twelve miles, through the same description of scenery as that passed in the morning, but the soil was more clayey, and the road better, though all our drive was performed through a deluge of heavy rain, which was very acceptable to the country, as more than a month had passed since any rain had fallen.

At the end of this stage we reached a log-house, where we were to sleep for the night. The beds and interior accommodations were most uninviting ; but we had no choice, so, lighting a large wood-fire, and preparing some tea, which our kind friends at Savannah had furnished us with, as none was to be had in houses of this description, we enjoyed it, and retired early. During the night, the rain poured down with great violence, and as the roof of the log-house was not water-proof, we had streams entering at different parts of it, which made our position very uncomfortable. The partitions between the several small apartments into which the house was divided, were so thin, and the beds were placed so close to them, that the slightest noise or sound made in one room could be distinctly heard in the next ; so that it was like sleeping with a dozen persons in the same apartment. The cries of some young children, the

snoring of the negroes scattered about lying on the floor, the constant barking of several large dogs, saluting and answering each other in alternate volleys, and the incessant croakings of the frogs, with which every part of these woods abound, made it almost impossible to sleep. We therefore got out to trim the fire, and see the hour, several times during the night, and were extremely glad when the daylight broke on us, our first perception of this being through the chinks of the roof, as there was no window whatever in the room in which we slept.

In the morning a very rude breakfast was prepared; and happening to converse with the old woman who served us, on the state of the country, and asking whether the removal of the Indians was not considered a blessing by the settlers here, I remarked that she made no answer. We afterwards learnt, that the man by whom the house was kept was himself a half-blood Indian, and his rage was said to be so great when this question was repeated to him, that he was "perfectly mad," in the language of our informant, and declared his regret that he had missed the opportunity to shoot me for so saying. Such is the vindictive spirit that seems to flow through Indian veins, and which loses but little of its original nature, even by mingling with gentler blood than its own.

We left this log-house at half-past eight, in the same coach that brought us from Tuskegee; and proceeded onward for Montgomery, reaching, after a few miles, a new village settlement called Cuba-hatchee. The soil now became richer on each side, and the woods were much more variegated, as, besides the ever-succeeding pine, there was a thick under-

wood of various flowering shrubs and trees, including magnolias, yellow jessamines, the dogwood, and the grape-vine, with a very beautiful tree called the willow-oak. The brooks of water were also more frequent, though the bridges over them were still of the rudest kind; and across one, the only road for foot-passengers was along a series of high-legged benches or forms, ranged in line, or end to end, elevated a few inches only above the water's-edge, and never more than eight or nine inches wide.

A little beyond Cubahatchee we passed one of the most spacious and best-built houses that we had yet seen on the road, with portico and verandas, an excellent garden surrounding it, and the whole enclosed with a regular paling of uniform upright pointed rails, smooth and painted white: pride-of-india trees were abundant, and a peach-orchard near was in full blossom. In the centre of an adjoining field, was seen the family burial-ground, railed in with a paling like the garden, with this difference only, that while the body of the rails was white, the pointed terminations above the horizontal band were black, as well as the arch over the entrance-gateway; giving it thus the air of a place of mourning.

Immediately beyond this large mansion, the road was lined on each side with extensive fields of the richest soil, perfectly cleared of all timber, and even the stumps of the trees rooted up and removed. Some of these fields appeared to be from fifty to eighty acres each in extent; and we here saw the first instance of hedges and ditches around the enclosures. These lands had been devoted to corn in all previous years, but the present high price of cotton

had tempted the greatest number of the planters here to cultivate this plant, and they were "all going into cotton mightily," as our informant expressed himself, this year, in the hope of making their fortunes by it in the next. Cotton pays the landholder a return of twenty per cent. for his capital, when it sells even at ten cents per pound; and it is now sixteen cents. In ploughing the land, on which the negroes were now engaged, each plough had one horse and one man only, the same person holding the plough and guiding the horse with a rein. For manure, small heaps of the cotton-seed were spread at regular distances, and then scattered over the surface. Many planters appropriate the whole of the seed of each crop to this purpose, and get new seed every year from South Carolina; but some reserve a sufficient quantity of the old seed for sowing the land for the new crop, and either use the surplus as manure, or sell it.

Excellent as the soil was here, and rich and productive as all the fields around us seemed to be, the roads were even worse than usual, the corduroy ridges of round logs extending sometimes for upwards of a mile in continuity, and so violently shaking the coach, that though it was nearly new, and built with great strength, it broke down with us in the middle of the road. We were therefore obliged to get out, and walk about half a mile to a farm-house during the rain, while it was repairing. This was done by the assistance of negroes sent from the farm, with poles of wood, and such rude tools as they could obtain for the purpose. A very little labour from each adjoining plantation would put

these roads in excellent condition ; but the reason assigned for this not being applied is, that every planter considers himself only a temporary occupant of the plantation on which he is settled ; he thus goes on from year to year, racking it out, and making it yield as much cotton or corn as he can in each year, without considering the future, holding himself ready to sell at a day's notice to any one who will give him what he considers to be the increased value of the estate. With the proceeds of this he is ready to go farther west in quest of another lot of land, which he is ready to clear, plant, improve, and then sell as before. Under this system of perpetual movement, every planter is averse to lay out money or labour in improving the roads of his particular district, as it is extremely improbable that he will live long in the same spot, to enjoy the benefit of such improvements. Added to this, a railroad is now in progress from Columbus to Montgomery, and is expected to be finished in the course of a year, when the ordinary roads will be abandoned for all but merely local conveyances.

Our coach being set up again, we proceeded on our way, and soon passed a very spacious and elegant mansion, with large verandas all round, a beautiful and extensive garden, with vineries, arbours, and alcoves ; and shortly after we halted at a small village called Mount Meigs, of still more recent origin than Tuskegee, but, like it, flourishing and increasing rapidly. The fields in all this neighbourhood appeared larger, cleaner, better cultivated, and more productive, than any we had seen on our way ; and the whole of the farming operations seemed on a

better scale than usual ; but the roads were still so bad, that before we had gone far we had a second break-down, and thought, for some time, we should have to walk the rest of the way to Montgomery ; but by the aid of the negroes from a neighbouring plantation, we were once more set up, and enabled to proceed.

During the interval, and while the coach was under repair, we had an opportunity of seeing the great bulk of the labourers on the plantation. These were all negro slaves ; and their appearance and condition were not at all superior to those we saw at Savannah ; the few garments they had being almost wholly in rags, and their persons and apparel so filthy, that it might be doubted whether either the one or the other were ever washed from one end of the year to the other.

While we were halting here, patching up our broken vehicle, and lamenting our frequent delays, we were passed by the " Express Mail," established between New York and New Orleans. Letters, printed slips of news, and prices of goods, of sufficient importance to warrant the extra expense in their conveyance, are sent by this mode between the two cities. A relay of horses is posted all the way at intervals of four miles, for which it requires a stud of 500 horses, in motion or in constant readiness for mounting. Each boy rides only twenty-four miles, twelve onward and twelve back, changing his horses twelve times in that distance ; and for this purpose, and to supply vacancies by sickness and accidents, about 200 boys are employed, who gallop the whole way, and make good fourteen miles an

hour, including all stoppages. The expense of this conveyance is so much greater than its return, that it will probably be given up.

About three o'clock in the afternoon we reached Montgomery, having been seven hours performing a distance of thirty miles, with two break-downs on the way; and glad enough we were to terminate this long and tedious land-journey, in which, for a distance of more than 400 miles, we had scarcely seen anything but interminable forests on either side of our path, except in the small spaces occupied by the few towns and villages in the way, and the inconsiderable portions in which a few patches of corn or cotton cultivation bordered the mere skirts of the road.

At Montgomery we found excellent quarters in the best hotel we had seen since leaving New York, superior even, as it seemed to us at least, to the hotels of Charleston and Savannah; and, being desirous of proceeding onward without delay, we embarked in the steam-boat, "Commerce," to go down the Alabama river to Mobile, a distance of nearly 500 miles, which these fine vessels perform in about forty-eight hours, their rate of speed exceeding ten miles an hour all the way

CHAP. XV.

Voyage down the Alabama river to Mobile—Scenery and forests of the river's banks—Cypress trees—Swamps—Moss festoons—Bluffs—Cotton and wood landings—Fogs—Cahawba—Portland and Canton—Planters from the interior of Alabama—Settlers from beyond the Mississippi—Claiborne, Sparta, and Montezuma—Cane-brakes—Alligators—Snakes—Solitary eagle in her forest-nest—Sturgeon, trout, cat-fish, and buffalo—Tumilukbee river—Choctaws and Chickasaws—Military arsenal of Mount Vernon—Arrival at Mobile.

THE time fixed for the departure of the steam-boat was nine in the evening, as by this hour all the eastern stages were usually in; but, as often happens, one of these stages was six hours beyond its usual time, while another had broken down on the road, and was left there by the passengers, who had to walk for the remainder of the way, so that they did not reach Montgomery till near daylight; and the boat, thus delayed for their arrival, did not start till morning. The general regularity of English stage-coaches, so accustoms an Englishman to expect punctuality in the public conveyances of other countries, that he feels these irregularities the more annoying. But American travellers, accustomed to them from their youth, bear them with enviable equanimity.

The Alabama river, at the place of our embarkation, was not large, nor was the surrounding scenery interesting; but about fifty miles above this, to which the steam-navigation extends, the scenery is said to

be pleasing, especially at Wetumpka, a very recent settlement forty-five miles above Montgomery, where are certain rapids or falls, the Indian name, Wetumpka, meaning, "the falling stream." Both there and at this place, a great number of fish resembling salmon are taken in traps; and as we were passing to the boat for embarkation, we met several persons coming up from the river with many fine large fish, called buffaloes, of which it was said upwards of 500 were caught, at a single häul, by a seine, or net, opposite the wharf at which we lay.

The steam-vessel in which we were now embarked, differed from any that I had previously seen; and was constructed in the following manner. Her lower part, from the water's edge to about three feet above, was devoted to the engine, which was in the centre, the piston working horizontally fore and aft, instead of perpendicularly, as in our English boats, while an immense fly-wheel in the centre of the boat, turned the axles of the side-wheels or paddles. The engine was a high pressure one; and gave out a burst of steam from a tall chimney, at every revolution of the wheels, the sound being like the hard breathing of some huge mastadon labouring under the asthma; while the two chimneys vomiting forth volumes of black smoke, with the third breathing forth at momentary intervals its blasts of white curling steam, made both the sight and the sound peculiar. The whole margin of the engine-deck was open all around, and this was the part devoted to the reception of cotton bales, as cargo in freight, which is taken in at the landing-places of the several plantations along the river, for Mobile.

Above this lower deck, and stretching along fore and aft, over the engine, going nearly the whole length of the boat, (leaving only a small space in front for the boilers, which were close to the prow or stem on the lower deck) was placed the range of cabins for the passengers; with two tiers of bed-places on each side, one over the other, and a window opening from each, the centre of the whole length being used for the dining-room, and the ladies' cabin being cut off from this abaft.

All the interior arrangements were comfortable, as regarded beds and meals; but the tremulous motion communicated by the high-pressure engine, through all this range of cabins, occupying as they did the space which covered the engine itself, was so great as to render it almost impossible to write, and very difficult even to hold a book steady enough to read; while the extremely confined space around this upper deck, afforded little or no accommodation for walking, and made the confinement irksome in the extreme.

The appearance of the boat was far from handsome to the eye; without a projecting stem, cutwater, or figure head, with an upright stern-post, and stern as naked as the bow, she had nothing of the grace and beauty of the English steamers, in her model; while the openness of the lower deck all around, and the closed sides of the long range of cabins and windows in the deck above, made her look like a vessel whose planks and timbers had been taken away from her hull, from the water's edge to the upper deck, leaving this to be supported by a few bulkheads and upright central pillars. All the

works of the engine were thus exposed in the centre, when no bales of cotton concealed them, and when filled with cargo, the vessel had the appearance of a ship laden with goods, the side-timbers and planks being removed all around from the hold in which it was stowed, and leaving the cabin-deck closed above it. This piling up of deck upon deck, affords, no doubt, the means of carrying freight on the one, and accommodating passengers on the other, to a greater extent than would be united in any other form of building; and the frequency with which a few bales of cotton are taken in at the many stations along the river, makes it more convenient to roll in these bales from the river's banks to the lower deck, by the sides, than it would be to hoist them up and lower them down a regular hatchway; but it is only for river navigation, and for such a traffic as this, that such boats are adapted, as an ordinary gale at sea would soon demolish the whole fabric.

The first station at which we stopped on our way down the Alabama, was at Washington, a small settlement about sixteen miles below Montgomery, where 100 bales of cotton were taken in for Mobile. The crew were numerous, and very efficient. There were twelve white sailors, besides the engineer's department of five men, who were all whites; and twenty negroes besides. The seamen's wages were 40 dollars, or £8 sterling per month, besides their provisions. The negroes, who were all hired from different masters, were paid the same sum; but these poor creatures were scantily fed by the master of the ship, and badly clothed by their owners, who received

all their wages. They thus paid, probably, not more than five dollars per month to each negro for his apparel, or anything else he might need, and pocketed the 35 dollars as profit on the purchase-money invested ; while the white sailors and firemen received the whole amount of their 40 dollars of wages without any deduction ; such is the difference between a slave and a freeman in matters of labour and reward ! Notwithstanding this, it was constantly asserted by the passengers, that of the two, the negroes were better off than the white men, because they had no *cares* ; but when these individuals were asked, whether *they* would like to be “ released from all cares,” by some master taking from them the profits of their labour, and merely feeding and clothing them instead—they made no reply. As we proceeded down the river, the banks appeared very high, the bluffs, as they are called, being in many places more than 100 feet in elevation above the present surface of the stream ; and yet even these were nearly overflowed in one of the great freshets which occurred a few years ago. The river then rose ninety feet above its ordinary level, inundating half the town of Montgomery, though it lies high upon a sloping land ; but at the present moment the river was said to be from six to eight feet lower than it has been known for many years at this season. The current flowed at the rate of three miles an hour, the depth in mid-channel being not more than from six to eight feet.

Among the numerous trees of the forest which bordered the river in our course downward, the cypress was conspicuous, and the more so from the darkness of its foliage, and its being more thickly

hung with festoons of moss than any of the other trees. These cypresses have a remarkably protuberant base, the trunk rising from what appears to be a conical mound of earth, not unlike a beehive in shape, but formed of the roots, fibres, and wood of the tree itself. From this base the trunk rises in a perpendicular shaft, with little diminution of its diameter, till it attains a height of from fifty to eighty feet. At this elevation it first spreads out its horizontal branches like the arms of some huge giant, and these intertwine themselves among the branches of other trees, as if seizing them with a deadly grasp. At this season this has a most singular appearance, the cypress being in full dark foliage, while the branches of the trees it embraces are naked and bare of leaf, and some of them denuded even of their bark, so as to present the appearance of being death-struck, as it were, by its poisonous embrace. It is said, that in the valley of the Mississippi these trees grow to 120 feet in height, and have a circumference of from thirty to forty feet in their trunks; but those on the banks of the Alabama, were never loftier than from eighty to ninety, with a circumference of from fifteen to twenty feet. The description of the tree and the circumstances associated with it are given with great accuracy by Hinton, whose details I had an opportunity of verifying, and they are sufficiently interesting to be repeated.

In the season of vegetation the leaves of the cypress are short, fine, and of a verdure so deep, as almost to seem brown, giving an indescribable air of funereal solemnity to this singular tree. A cypress

forest, when viewed from the adjacent hills, with its numberless interlaced arms, covered with this dark-brown foliage, has the aspect of a scaffolding of verdure in the air. It grows in deep and sickly swamps, the haunt of fever, mosquitos, moccassin snakes, alligators, and all loathsome and ferocious animals, that congregate far from the abodes of man, and seem to make common cause with nature against him. The cypress loves the deepest, most gloomy, inaccessible, and inundated swamps; and south of 33° latitude, is generally found covered with the sable festoons of the long moss, hanging, like a shroud of mourning wreaths, almost to the ground. It seems to flourish best where water covers its roots for half the year, when it rises from eight or ten feet depth of the overflow of rivers; the apex of its buttress is just on a level with the surface of the stream, and it is then, in many places, that they cut it. The negroes surround the tree in boats, and thus getting at the trunk above the huge and hard buttress, they fell it with comparative ease. No tree of the country is more extensively useful; it is free from knots, is easily wrought, and makes excellent timber, and planks of all sizes; and it is among the most durable of woods, so that it may be fairly regarded as one of the most valuable trees of all the southern country. It was not on the high lands, or bluffs, that we saw these cypresses, but on the low grounds farther down the river, where the swamps and marshes advance almost close to its banks.

These cypresses of America differ very much from the Oriental cypress, seen so abundantly in the Turkish cemeteries at Smyrna, Damascus, and other

large Eastern cities ; for that tree begins to shoot forth its branches within a few feet from the ground, ascending upwards rather than horizontally, after the manner of the *arbor vitæ*, and having their fullest foliage about half-way up their height, from whence it ascends with diminished fulness till it terminates almost in a point. These do not require the constant presence of water for their growth, as they flourish in the burial-grounds of the Mohammedans, among whom it is a common practice to plant a young cypress at the head of each grave, and to take the greatest care to secure its growth and perfection, by supplying it with soil and moisture when required. The Oriental cypress is the most beautiful: the American the most mournful, especially when covered with the weeping weeds and long funereal tresses of the wreathed and festooned moss; but both, from the extreme darkness of their foliage, seem to be appropriate emblems of sickness and death, and it was this fitness which no doubt led the Asiatics to select it for the solemn shade of their burial-grounds.

As we descended the river, the bluffs became less frequent, and the low lands more abundant. The few bluffs we passed were generally occupied as cotton stations, where a low-roofed shed would be seen on the top, and a cotton-press near, with accumulated bales waiting for some conveyance to Mobile, the port of shipment for Europe. From the edge of the bluff down to the water, rails were frequently placed on an inclined plane to slide down the bales of cotton for shipment, each planter having his own landing-place at some point along the river; and these, with wood stations, occurring every five to ten

miles. The chief cultivation all along the river is cotton and corn, and the labourers are all negro slaves. The average price of these at present is 500 dollars for the commonest description, and 1000 dollars for what are termed "prime hands." The number required for each plantation is, on the average, about one negro to every ten acres of cotton and ten acres of corn.

In the early part of the morning the fog on the river had been so thick that we could with difficulty see our way. The pilot and steersman, in these river-boats, are comfortably stationed in a framed-and-glazed house of about ten feet square, in which is the wheel for steering. This is perched up above the third deck, half as high as a frigate's fore-top, and brought so far forward as to be about one-fourth of the boat's length only from the stem, and three-fourths her length from the stern. This gives the steersman and pilot a better view of their course than if they were farther aft, in the usual way ; but as the communication between the wheel and the rudder is thus remote, the wheel-ropes are necessarily very long, and the labour of steering is very great.

Among the places passed on the first day of our voyage, March 15th, were Cahawba, Portland, and Canton. The first had been once the seat of government for the State of Alabama, and the capital or State-house is still remaining there ; but there are few other buildings, as, on the removal of the seat of government to its present site, Tuscaloosa, on the Black Warrior river, the small population of Cahawba followed. It is now in contemplation to move it

again to Wetumpka, as centrality of geographical position is the usual rule for fixing the place of legislature; but as this cannot be done without altering the Constitution, and this cannot be effected without the vote of a majority of the Legislature to call a convention for that purpose, it is thought probable that the removal will not be carried, yet at least. Portland and Canton are two very small and unimportant places.

When evening came, we had time to look around a little among our fellow-passengers, as, from the darkness impeding our survey of objects without, we were of necessity driven to other objects within. During the daytime, many of the passengers were engaged at cards, and large sums of money were lost and won in this occupation. Most of the company seemed to find the time hang heavily on their hands, and though some few read, it was evidently to kill time, rather than from any pleasure that it afforded them. This, at least, we inferred from the frequent breaks, risings up, and sittings down, with occasional dozings between. Tobacco was used by almost all the men, young and old, some lads of fifteen or sixteen chewing and spitting as much as their elders, and nearly all smoking as well as chewing, so that we were the only persons on board who did neither the one nor the other.

Among the passengers was a planter from beyond the Mississippi, who evinced a great curiosity to become acquainted with us, as he stated that we were the first English persons he had ever yet seen. He seemed to be glad to find himself quite certain that he had now seen real people from the "Old

Country," as he had passed his whole life in the interior, 200 miles beyond the great river, and would have something to say when he went back. Another of our passengers was a cotton planter, from the interior of Alabama, who was said to be worth 100,000 dollars, though his apparel certainly would not sell in any town of the United States for five dollars. He was about seventy years of age, had lost one eye, had only three or four teeth left, a sunburnt and wrinkled countenance, like parchment, with white locks hanging over his shoulders, a pair of scarlet cotton trousers, crossed with bars of deep blue, snuff-brown cotton stockings, shoes without buckles or strings, a short buttonless waistcoat, no braces, a nondescript coat, between a jacket and a surtout, no neckcloth, and a low-crowned and broad-brimmed brown hat. He was of a merry disposition, and communicative as well as inquisitive. He was particularly impressed with the fresh and healthy appearance of myself and family, as contrasted with the generally pale complexions of his countrymen, and asked us if all the men, women, and children in England were as robust and rosy as we were. I told him that the greater number of those who lived temperately, and took a proper portion of exercise in the open air, were so; and when he inquired into our mode of life, and found that we ate but two meals a day, breakfast and dinner, while he saw every one around him eating four—breakfast, lunch, dinner, and supper; when he learnt that we drank neither wine, beer, cider, or spirits, bathed or washed from head to foot once every day, took exercise for health, whether business required it or

not, and never used tobacco in any form or shape, he said he felt less surprised than at first, at our health and vigour, but he thought it must require great resolution and perseverance to pursue so "singular a course of life," as he deemed this to be. He admitted, however, that drinking, smoking, and chewing were injurious, but thought it impossible to break the habit of either when once contracted; and when I mentioned to him successful instances of abandoning them all, he seemed incredulous, and said he had never heard so much before. He thought it a great blessing that we had no negroes in England, as he believed they were enough to destroy any country. He was going down to Mobile, to receive money for cotton sold, and to make some purchases for his people; and when I said to him he would arrive in good time on Saturday night to go to church on the following morning, he said that he had never been in any church in all his life, and thought he was now too old to begin, though he had "heard a few preachings in the woods, but didn't much mind 'em."

We passed a restless night, from the violently tremulous motion of the boat rendering it very difficult to sleep; and on the second morning of our voyage, we found the fog on the river to be as thick as yesterday, though it was clear overhead and all around, the fog being confined to the bed of the valley. About daylight on the 16th we passed Claiborne, a small village on the left bank of the river, from which a public road goes off eastward to Sparta and Montezuma, the settlers of this State being as fond of fine names as their neighbours, of which the towns of Athens, Augusta, Florence,

Havannah, and Demopolis, all in Alabama, are examples.

It is about 200 miles before reaching Mobile that the low lands begin to be apparent on either bank, and here the swamps abound. The cypress flourishes in the greatest luxuriance in this region, and alligators and mocassin-snakes are frequent; one of the former was seen as we passed it basking in the sun, stretching out its length for twelve or thirteen feet.

About sixty miles before we reached Mobile we passed, on the right bank of the river, a solitary trunk of a tree, with all its branches gone, standing like a pillar in the wilderness. On the top, crowning it like the capital of a column, was an eagle's nest, in which the eagle was then seated; and one of the oldest pilots on the Alabama, who had been twenty years navigating the stream, told us that he remembered the eagle's nest as a landmark used by the pilots, when he first came upon the river, and he never recollected a single year in which the eagle did not brood over her young there, so that a sort of sanctity was now attached to the tree, which no one seemed disposed to disturb.

The principal fishes of the river are the sturgeon and the trout, both of which are abundant, large, and excellent; the cat-fish and the buffalo-fish are still more numerous, but are not so much esteemed. The shad, which are so plentiful in those rivers of Georgia and Virginia emptying their waters into the Atlantic, do not frequent any of the streams discharging themselves into the Gulf of Mexico.

About fifty miles before reaching Mobile, we passed the mouth of the large river Tumbukbee,

usually spelt Tombigbee, which here runs into the Alabama. From this point of junction, on to the sea, these streams lose their respective names, and their united waters are called the River of Mobile, just as in Mesopotamia, the waters of the Tigris and Euphrates, where they unite in one, lose their distinctive names, and their mingled waters, and from Korna to the Gulf of Persia, into which they discharge, are called the River of the Arabs. Along the banks of the Tumbukbee are prairies, or extensive undulating plains, without a tree for many miles. These were formerly occupied by the Choctaws and Chickasaws, tribes of Indians, who are now all gone westward to the regions beyond the Mississippi.

Not far from the junction is a military arsenal of the United States, at Mount Vernon, about three miles back from the landing-place on the right bank of the river. This arsenal and the navy-yard at Pensacola, not far to the eastward of Mobile, are the principal stations of the United States Government, for the general supply of their army and navy within and around the Gulf of Mexico.

It was past sunset before we drew near enough to Mobile to see the town, and it was then chiefly by their lights that the houses were visible. At half-past seven we reached the wharf and landed, when we made our way to the Waverley House, where apartments had been previously provided for our reception, and were glad to find ourselves once more, after our tiresome land-journey across Georgia and Alabama, in a place of cleanliness, comfort, and repose.

CHAP. XVI.

Description of the State of Alabama—Foundation, progress, and site of Mobile—Public buildings, academy, churches, hotels—Population, classes, and occupations—Dissolute manners, murders and outrages—Intemperate habits—Public bar-rooms—Fires and destruction of property from this cause—Hibernian Society—Concert—Newspaper manifesto—Municipal election—Drunkenness and riot.

THE State of Alabama, which we had now traversed, from Columbus to Mobile, is but of comparatively recent settlement and separation in its present form. It is thought, however, to have been visited, especially on its southern coast, at the same period that Florida and Louisiana were first explored. It was in 1539 that the Spanish governor of Cuba, Fernando de Soto, visited the territories named, in his way from Florida eastward to the banks of the Mississippi, where he died within three years after his leaving Cuba, when his dispirited followers soon dispersed, and became gradually scattered and extinct.

Nearly 180 years elapsed after this disastrous expedition, before any other European attempt to settle in these quarters was made. Early in the eighteenth century, 1718, the French formed the colony of Louisiana, which included not only the territory on each side the lower part of the Mississippi, but also the lands now forming the State of Alabama, at least near the coast, for the Indians still

possessed the interior ; it was by the French settlers of Louisiana, that Mobile was first founded, and a fort built where the present city now stands.

The original charter granted by the crown of England to Georgia, covered, however, the greater part of this territory, from lat. 31° to lat. 35° N. ; and this so remained until long after the American revolution, when, in 1802, a cession was made by Georgia, to the general government of the United States, of all her Western Territory, between the Chatahoochee and the Mississippi rivers. In 1800, the whole of this tract was erected into a territorial government, under the name of the Mississippi Territory, which continued a distinct section of the Union until 1817, when, by an act of Congress passed in March of that year, it was divided into two portions, the westernmost forming Mississippi, and the easternmost Alabama ; the former enjoying the distinction of a State, from its greater extent of population, while the latter still remained a Territory. Within the next year, however, 1818, the increase of population was so rapid in Alabama, as to entitle it to admission into the Union as a State ; and, accordingly, an act of Congress was passed, empowering the people of Alabama to form a constitution, which being done, and ratified by the national legislature, the new State became a member of the great Federal Union.

Just previous to this period, and for a few years after it, the inhabitants suffered greatly from the hostile incursions of the Creeks and Seminoles, the two most powerful and savage tribes of Indians, by whom the territory was occupied. Their complete subju-

gation was only effected by long and sanguinary struggles, in which the troops of Tennessee, under General Jackson, subsequently president of the United States, took a conspicuous part. The Creeks and Seminoles dispersed chiefly into Florida, where the latter still remain in large numbers.

The State of Alabama, as at present constituted, is bounded on the north by Tennessee, on the south by part of Florida and the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by Georgia, and on the west by the State of Mississippi. Its length is 280 miles, its breadth 160, its area 46,000 square miles, or nearly 30,000,000 of acres; and nearly all this vast area is covered with productive soil.

The surface of the State is divided into three zones. The southernmost, or that bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, is low, level, and swampy, covered with pine, cypress, willow, and other trees. Within this, and at an elevation of from ten to twenty feet above it, succeeds a fine rich black soil, covered with trees of hickory, black oak, post-oak, dogwood, and poplar. Beyond this, still receding inland, and at a higher elevation, are the prairies, which are wide-spreading plains of level or gently-waving land, without trees, but covered with grass and flowers, and said to exhibit, in the month of May, the most verdant and variegated carpet, of beauty and fertility combined. In the northern parts of the State, the level is much more elevated, where the south-west extremities of the Alleghany mountains, coming down from Virginia and Tennessee, extend themselves into Alabama, and beautifully diversify the surface of the country. It is thought that in no part

of the United States is the scenery more agreeable, or the climate more dry and healthy, than in this hilly region.

The staple production of Alabama is cotton ; but the soil and climate are favourable to the growth of wheat, rye, oats, maize, rice, and tobacco, as well as indigo. It is thought that the sugar-cane, the vine, and the olive, might all be cultivated with success here, and in time they will no doubt enter into the productions of Alabama ; but so much profit is made at present from the cultivation of cotton, that it absorbs all the capital and all the attention of the people. Fruits of various kinds, from the fig to the apple, flourish abundantly ; mineral coal is found in the Cahawba and Black Warrior rivers ; and iron ore exists in several parts of the State ; while the number of its navigable rivers affords the best means of transporting all these various products to the coast.

The seat of government for the State is at Tuscaloosa, near its centre ; and the legislative body consists of a Governor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Governor is elected for two years, and has a salary of 3,500 dollars per annum. The Senate consists of thirty members, elected for three years ; and the House of Representatives consists of ninety-one members, elected annually. The pay of the members of both houses is four dollars per day, besides their mileage, or travelling expenses, to and from the seat of government to their own homes.

The judiciary consists of a supreme court, of three judges, each paid 2,250 dollars per annum, and nine circuit courts, each with a single judge, at a salary

of 2,000 dollars per annum. The judges are all chosen by a joint vote of the two houses of the legislature, the circuit judges for six, and the supreme court judges for seven years. The supreme court has appellate jurisdiction only upon points of law, taken up from the circuit courts by writ of error. It sits at the seat of government. The opinions of the court are delivered in writing, and published by the official reporter. The circuit courts have original jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases in their respective districts, and exercise chancery forms also; a circuit judge being indeed the chancellor of his district, the districts comprising about six counties each. The courts sit twice in the year, in the spring and autumn, for about eight weeks at a time; and in each circuit, there is a State attorney, who prosecutes offenders at the public expense, receiving a salary of 250 dollars per annum, in addition to his fees.

Education is amply provided for, by an appropriation of lands to raise funds for that purpose. By an act of the general Congress, passed in March, 1819, one section of the government lands, amounting to 640 acres, being the thirty-sixth part of each township, is appropriated exclusively for the support of common schools; and in addition to this, two whole townships, of thirty-six sections each, were appropriated to the support of a State university. Of these 46,000 acres, about the half have been already sold, producing, with principal and interest, the sum of about 400,000 dollars; and from the constantly increasing value of the lands, the residue will probably produce 600,000 dollars, making, therefore, a per-

manent fund or endowment of a million of dollars for the support of the university alone, in addition to the ample endowment for public schools by the 640 acres of land in each township.

Provision has also been made for promoting internal improvements in the construction of roads, canals, and bridges, and for improving the navigation of rivers. By an act of Congress, passed in March, 1819, it was enacted that five per cent of the proceeds of all sales of public lands, made in the State after the 1st of September following, were to be appropriated thus: three-fifths to be devoted to improvements within the State, and the other two-fifths to roads and canals leading to and from the State to either of the adjoining ones; and this is in full operation, under a board of commissioners.

The whole population of Alabama is estimated at 500,000, of whom about 300,000 are whites, and 200,000 slaves. The increase has been rapid, as in 1810 there were less than 10,000; in 1820 there were only 127,901, of whom 41,879 were slaves; and in 1830 the numbers were 390,527, of whom 117,549 were slaves; the free people of colour being very few at either period.

Of the religious bodies in this State, the Methodists appear to be the most numerous, having about 50 preachers, and nearly 50,000 members. The Baptists have 150 ministers, but not more than 10,000 communicants. The Presbyterians have 30 ministers, and nearly 2,000 communicants. The Roman Catholics have nine ministers; and the Episcopalians only three.

The principal city and port of Alabama is Mobile.

This was first settled by the French, who, in 1700, erected Fort Mobile, where the present city stands. In 1763, this port was ceded, by the French, to England; and in 1780 the English surrendered it to Spain. During all this time it was a place of little or no importance, except as a naval and military station on the coast. In 1813 Spain surrendered it to the Americans, and from that period its progressive improvement may be dated; as it did not then possess a hundred dwellings, and these were all of the humblest kind. In 1814 it was incorporated as a town; and four years afterwards it was advanced to the dignity of a city, with a charter and full municipal privileges.

There was for some time a competition between Mobile and a small town called Blakeley, on the Tensau, an eastern branch of the river of Mobile, about ten miles E.N.E. of this, as to which should become the great seaport of the State; and as Blakeley possessed many advantages over Mobile, in the greater depth of water and superior facilities of navigation, it would have been preferred; but the owners of the lands there overreached themselves by demanding too extravagant terms for their sites, and accordingly Mobile was chosen; and is now so far advanced as to be likely to retain its superiority.

The position of Mobile is favourable to health, and advantageous for commerce. It lies at the head of an open bay, into which the waters of the Alabama discharge themselves; and is therefore close upon the sea. It stands on the western bank of the stream, having two smaller islands in front of it to the east. The town runs along the edge of the

water from north to south, and recedes backward from east to west, covering in the whole an area of about a mile in length by three-quarters of a mile in breadth, as far as already built on ; the ground being laid out for streets and dwellings to about double this extent each way.

The plan is sufficiently regular—the chief streets of business, Commerce-street and Royal-street, with the wharfs for the shipping, are spacious and commodious ; and the main street for private residences and general thoroughfare, called Government-street, is as handsome an avenue as is to be seen in the country, exceeding a mile in length from east to west, of ample breadth, from 100 to 120 feet, lined with rows of trees on either hand, protected by an excellent flag-pavement at the sides, and already ornamented with some exceedingly handsome public structures, and private mansions and dwellings.

Of the public buildings, the most prominent and the most beautiful is the Barton Academy. It has accommodations for about 400 students, and from the inspection which I was permitted to make, of the 200 boys there educating, (there being a department for females under other superintendence beneath the same roof,) I should say there were few better conducted academies in the Union. A literary society, called the Franklin Institute, has its hall of meeting in the same building. The whole edifice cost upwards of 100,000 dollars, and it is an ornament and honour to the city.

Of churches, the Presbyterian is the largest and most beautiful. Its exterior is not in the best taste, but its interior is unsurpassed in chasteness of style

and elegance of decoration in the United States. There is a singular, but at the same time a very happy union of the Egyptian and Greek, in the elevated platform, answering the purpose of the pulpit; and the semi-Theban and semi-Corinthian portico, which seems to rise behind the platform, with the rich diagonally-indented ceiling, and luxurious sofa-like pews, make this interior altogether the most strikingly beautiful I ever remember to have seen.

One of the most splendid of all the public edifices, however, is the Government-street Hotel, which when finished, will be much larger, and certainly much handsomer than either the Astor House at New York, the Tremont House at Boston, or the American Hotel at Buffalo, the three largest and handsomest at present in the Union. The hotels now in use are, the Mansion-house, the Alabama, and the Waverley; and the style of living at all these, as well as at the boarding-houses, is so like that at the same kind of establishments in the North, as not to need description. The charges, however, are much higher, three dollars per day being the rate of boarding, while two dollars is the usual price at the best hotels of the North.

The commerce of Mobile is confined chiefly to the exportation of cotton for Europe and the northern ports, and the importation of manufactures from the same quarters. The cotton crop of Alabama, for the last year, amounted to nearly 400,000 bales; of which about 100,000 were from North Alabama; and were shipped at New Orleans; the remainder, or 300,000, were from South Alabama, and these were

shipped at Mobile. Each bale weighs 450 lbs. and is worth, at the present market-price, about seventy dollars per bale, making the whole value of the cotton shipped at this one port only, about twenty-one millions of dollars in a single season. The employment which this gives to capital, shipping, and labour, may be readily conceived. The following extract from one of the Mobile papers during our stay there will show on what scale it is shipped :—

“GREAT CARGO.—The British ship *England*, Arkley, master, cleared from this port on Saturday, for Liverpool, with 3,000 bales of cotton under deck. Her burden (custom-house measure) is 827 tons; and she received her first cotton on the 7th instant. The total weight of cotton was 1,253,414 pounds—averaging more than 450 pounds to the bale, and costing 195,863 dollars. Her freight-list is £4,165 sterling. We doubt whether a larger cargo of cotton ever went out of this, or indeed any other port.”

The population of Mobile is estimated at 25,000, of whom about half are whites, and the remainder slaves and free-coloured people. They are chiefly engaged in commerce, though there are not wanting the full proportion of legal and medical men; but there are few persons disengaged from all active pursuits, and living a life of leisure. In their manners and style of living, the higher orders partake much of the hospitality and elegance of Charleston and Savannah; and in this rank of society great intelligence, morality, and honour are to be found. But there is a large class of inferior persons belonging to the community, some natives of the South, but many strangers and sojourners, who are among the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. Accordingly

there are few weeks pass by without outrages which are shocking to persons of correct feeling; and during our short stay here the following cases occurred. I select the paragraphs from the newspapers of the day, as giving them all the requisite authenticity, having, however, other evidence of their truth, and having witnessed, indeed, the excitement and indignation occasioned by the transactions thus recorded. The following are from the Mobile papers of March 20th, and a few subsequent days—

“**MURDER.**—Public feeling was shocked yesterday afternoon at the commission of a most extraordinary and heart-rending murder. Mr. George Churchward, a highly respectable and esteemed commission-merchant, was instantaneously killed by the discharge of a pistol, shot from the hands of Mr. C. B. Churchill, also a very respectable merchant. The transaction occurred at the residence of the latter, in whose family the former boarded. The parties were in an apartment by themselves, and had but a few moments prior withdrawn from the dinner-table. From various indications, it would appear that the deceased was shot from the rear, the ball having entered behind the ear, and penetrated to the brain. We forbear from any comments, the foregoing is the substance gathered from the inquest. We understand, this morning, that Mr. Churchill has been admitted to bail in the sum of 5000 dollars. On this, also, we forbear remarking.”

“**HOMICIDE.**—An act of homicide was committed in our streets yesterday afternoon: George Churchward, a commission merchant, was shot dead through the head, by C. B. Churchill, a cotton-broker. We know nothing of the causes of the fatal act. We are pained and sickened at the repetition of these scenes, each one of which, happening with impunity, is another blow at the security of life and limb, which it is the first object of civilized laws to protect.”

“**ANOTHER OUTRAGE.—ATTEMPT TO MURDER.**—Mr. John Wylie, an old and highly respectable citizen, was yesterday shot by a Captain Taylor, who was in the employ of Mr. Wylie, as

commander of a schooner. The ball entered the eye in a slanting direction outward. Mr. Wylie was living last night, but great fears are entertained that the wound will prove mortal. Captain Taylor is in custody. We are sick at heart, at recording such frequent and horrid violations of the law in our city. Cannot these brutal outrages be suppressed? Have we laws, and can they not be enforced?"

"ORGANIZED BAND.—Great alarm and excitement have been caused in Mobile, by the settled conviction that there exists in that city an organized band of robbers, scoundrels, and incendiaries, whose determined object seems to be to riot amid ruin and distress."

The truth is, that the community want either the virtue or the courage to see the laws executed on the murderers; and thus it is, that criminals, being left to go at large on bail, make their escape for a season, and then return again. Even when they remain, the juries will not convict them; so that impunity is thus granted to the further perpetration of similar deeds. As an instance of this laxity in the administration of the law, I subjoin a short paragraph taken from the Mobile papers of about the same date, though relating to another place, but in the same Southern section of the country, in the neighbouring State of Mississippi—

"MURDER.—On the night of the 20th instant, a man named William R. Harper, was killed in a tavern, in Vicksburgh, by a person of the name of Tippo, the keeper of the tavern. They were both drunk, and in their madness they got to firing pistols at each other in their bed-room, one of the shots proved fatal. Tippo was discharged, as it was thought that he acted in self-defence."—*G. G. Advertiser.*

The habits of drinking, which are more or less the cause of the excesses here described, are more

openly practised and encouraged in the cities of the South than at the North. Grog-shops of the common order abound, at every corner of almost every street. Public bars, and confectionaries, as they are called, for the gentry, are nearly as abundant; and in all of them numbers of well-dressed young men are to be seen smoking cigars, and drinking wine, spirits, and cordials, at an early hour of the day. The "Alhambra," and the "Rialto," give the aid of their classical names to establishments of this description; and there is hardly a night passes by without a riot or a fight, or without furnishing occasion for a duel or a murder at some subsequent time. More than half the fires that occur, spring from the same cause; for drunken habits among masters soon contaminate, by their example, servants and slaves; and the riot of the one furnishes a temptation and an excuse for the excesses of the other. The following is a notice of one only, of two or three fires that occurred during our stay, of a week, in Mobile—

"FIRE AT MOBILE.—About two o'clock on Sunday morning, a fire broke out in the warehouse of Mr. Esclava, in Royal-street, between Government and Conti streets. The flames were not extinguished until they had destroyed the warehouse of Mr. Esclava, the prison in Conti-street, and a number of small buildings and a stable in the direction of Government-street. The loss by the fire, it was thought, would exceed 100,000 dollars. More than 1000 bales of cotton and 300 hogsheads of sugar were destroyed. Part of the property was insured."

It is matter of astonishment, that with such elements of demoralization and destruction so constantly and actively at work, a city could ever make progress.

But the resources of wealth within the reach of the community, and the eagerness of the more sober and industrious classes, to develop these with the utmost degree of speed, outstrip even the destroying elements, and produce accumulated prosperity in spite of the obstacles opposed to it. If these obstacles were removed, if intemperance were completely annihilated, and a sober, moral, and industrious population were to replace the dissipated, gambling, idle, reckless, and murdering class, the progress of prosperity would be much more rapid ; and what is of much more importance, the ground gained would be attended with corresponding moral and intellectual improvement, which now lags far behind, except among the select and honourable few.

My lectures on Egypt were given in Mobile in the new Presbyterian church, and were extremely well attended throughout ; the audiences averaging 500 each night. We received great kindness and attention from several of the most influential families—judges, merchants, and clergy. I attended one public dinner, the anniversary of the Hibernian Society, at which a large number of Irish gentlemen, settled in the city, were present ; and I had an opportunity of seeing all the fashion and beauty of Mobile (and there was much to admire in both) at a very brilliant concert, given by Madame Caradori Allan, at the “Alhambra,” where she sang with her usual sweetness and grace ; and was assisted by some dozen amateurs, vocal and instrumental performers of the place. Our stay here was, on the whole, most agreeable ; though we could hardly fail

to be painfully impressed with much that we heard and saw going on around us.

There are four daily newspapers published in Mobile, two morning and two evening, and a weekly literary gazette. They are all conducted with more than average talent, and are about equally divided in political opinion and influence—Whigs and Democrats. Though they disagree in politics, however, they have exhibited a remarkable unanimity in coming to certain resolutions for the protection of their pecuniary credit; and the record of this is so remarkable an exposition of the history and condition of newspaper publications in the United States generally, that I have thought it sufficiently curious to be given here. It is in the form of a manifesto, addressed to the public, issued in the first page of every paper in Mobile, and signed by the five editors and proprietors of the Patriot, Advertiser, Chronicle, and Examiner; and is as follows—

“On the 1st of June last, the undersigned, publishers in the city of Mobile, adopted certain resolutions, the object of which was to protect ourselves from the losses occasioned by an unlimited system of credit. We then flattered ourselves that if our debts were restricted to the city, and we made none in the country, with a little additional expense and trouble (which we were willing to undergo for the convenience of our customers,) we could get on very well. In this we have been disappointed. We have made the attempt, and the result is a deliberate conviction that such is the general carelessness in regard to the payment of printers' accounts, that we not only cannot live under the credit system, but can scarcely eke out the weekly cash-expenses necessary to the support of our establishments. A business which will not defray the expenditures incidental to it, is a poor one, and the time and labour expended on it are thrown away.

“A change of this, to us, starving system, is absolutely neces-

sary. Publishers, like lovers, are generally supposed to be able to live upon air ; but even if we were disposed to try the experiment upon ourselves, we are not willing to make it on our families, or our creditors who are not publishers. The question then is, shall we abandon our occupations, or take measures to insure payment for what we do? We prefer the second alternative. For this object, we have adopted the resolution appended below, and which will become fixed clauses in our terms of publication—

“Resolved, by the publishers of the Mobile press, that from and after the 1st of October next, we respectfully notify the public, that no transient advertisement will be published until paid for ; that all annual contracts for advertising and subscription, for city or country, must be paid for in advance, and all job-work to be paid for before delivery.”

On the last day of our stay in Mobile, there was an election for the mayor of the city. The present holder of the office was a Whig ; and his own party wished to secure his re-election. The opposite party being supporters of the administration, wished to displace him ; the election, therefore, was entirely of a political character. We had been assured by those resident in the town, that before noon there would be 500 voters drunk at least, and before sunset 1000. I had witnessed a Liverpool election for mayor, under the old suffrage of the freemen, and I had seen many other elections in England for members of parliament, in which drunkenness, riot, and disorder reigned ; and I am bound to say that this municipal election for Mobile was just as bad as any of them, worse would, perhaps, be impossible.

Where a thousand men are drunk, under all the additional excitement of party spirit, scenes of violence are the natural fruits to be expected, and these were produced in great abundance. Let no man point to this, however, as the necessary result of

republican institutions. We can match them in England, under a monarchy ; and the Church-and-King party in English elections are often the most drunken and riotous of the two. But they are equally disgraceful in either, and deserve equally severe condemnation. It should be added, that the elections in the Northern cities are generally free from the intoxication and disorder here described ; though the institutions are there as republican as here. It is the free use of strong drinks that is the source of the evil ; and where these are profusely distributed, whether in monarchies or republics, the effects are the same. In England we remove the military from the scene, to preserve the free exercise of the suffrage, though they are often afterwards called in to quell riots ; but it would be much wiser to remove all the sellers of strong drink, and shut up their poisonous fountains, during an election, by which moral as well as political freedom and purity would be best secured.

CHAP. XVII.

Departure from Mobile for New Orleans—Passage through Mobile bay—Shipping—Pelican island—Myriads of birds and eggs—Steam-vessels employed—High wages—Arrival at the landing of Pontchartrain—Entrance to the city of New Orleans—French quarter—American quarter—Stay at New Orleans—Illness there—Former friends—Strangers and resident families—Sources of information, and visits to institutions—Public meetings to form a Sailor's Home.

ON Monday, the 25th of March, we left Mobile, in the steam-vessel Kingston, for New Orleans, starting from the wharf soon after noon. The weather was delicious, in the happiest combination of warmth and freshness, the thermometer at 75°, a fine breeze from the sea, and a balmy softness in the atmosphere, of the most agreeable kind.

As we proceeded to the south, we came, after a run of six miles, to the upper anchorage of the ships in the bay of Mobile, there being about fifty large and fine vessels anchored here in five fathoms water, taking in their cargoes of cotton, which are sent down from the town in boats, as there is not sufficient depth of water for large vessels to load at the wharfs.

After a further run of twenty-five miles, or about thirty miles below the town, we came to the lower anchorage of the bay, where upwards of 100 ships were lying at anchor, taking in their cargoes from Mobile. The ships varied from 300 to 800 tons

burden, some English, some French ; but the greater number American ; and finer ships of their class I have never seen. As they were all lying at single anchor, with abundance of space to swing, they spread over an extent of four or five miles in each direction, and presented an unusually magnificent spectacle ; especially as all the ships were perfectly ready for sea, with their sails bent, top-gallant yards across, and in the highest possible order.

Having made good our offing to the south, we rounded several small islands, and hauled our course to the westward, for Lake Borgue and Lake Pontchartrain, this being the coasting route to reach New Orleans, as shorter and safer than that of entering the mouth of the Mississippi river. Among the islands was one called Pelican Island, from its being the abode of myriads of these birds, which breed here ; and we were assured by the captain, that in the laying season, the eggs were so abundant on the shore, that a large ship might be laden with them in the course of a single day. The sands of the beach were of a snowy whiteness, and all the upper portion of the islands seemed covered with dense forests of trees.

Though we were sometimes ten miles from the shore, we had never more than five fathoms water ; and the whole of the upper part of the Gulf of Mexico is thus shallow for a long way out to sea. When the winds blow off the shore, the waters are driven out, and return again with the winds blowing on the shore, the difference being as great as three or four feet in elevation, occasioned by the winds alone. The engines used in these steam-vessels are chiefly

low-pressure, and their crews are very efficient, so that they are perfectly safe conveyances, and few accidents occur. The wages paid are very high ; the engineers get 200 dollars a month ; the ordinary men from 60 to 80 dollars, and the smallest boys from 30 to 40 dollars ; but as in other trades, this increased rate of pay leads generally to increased recklessness and extravagance in the receivers ; and there are fewer men who lay by any portion of their wages here, than among the seamen of the North, who do not receive half as much.

We continued to make progress during all the night, and at five in the morning we reached the landing-place at Pontchartrain, about five miles to the north, or at the back of the city of New Orleans. The appearance of this landing-place is very striking. A number of long wharfs or jetties, built on perpendicular piles, project out, from one common centre, like so many rays, into the water ; and at the end of these, the steam-boats lie. A railroad goes from the extremity of each of these landings to the centre described, for the baggage-cars and goods transported ; and at the centre commences the larger railroad to New Orleans.

Here we re-embarked in the first train of cars, which left at half past six ; and, going for about five miles over a perfect swamp or morass, through which the railroad ran, with impervious woods and thickets on either side, we reached, in half an hour, the outskirts of New Orleans. The avenue by which we entered the city was called *Les Champs Elysées* ; and every thing that caught our attention reminded us strongly of Paris. The lamps were hung from

the centre of ropes passing across the streets, as in France; women were seen walking abroad unbonneted, with gay aprons and caps; the names of all the streets and places we passed were French; the car-drivers, porters, and hackney-coachmen, spoke chiefly French; the shops, signs, gateways, pavements, and passengers moving in the streets, all seemed so perfectly Parisian, that if a person could be transported here suddenly, without knowing the locality, it would be difficult for him to persuade himself that he was not in some city of France.

After passing through the French quarter, we came to Canal-street, which divides it from the American; and crossing this fine broad avenue, lined with trees on each side, the transition was as marked as between Calais and Dover. We had now got among a new set of people; the streets had American names, the shops and stores had American signs, and everything indeed was as thoroughly American as in New York or Boston. We found excellent accommodations at the St. Charles Hotel, and here accordingly we took up our abode.

We remained at New Orleans for nearly a month, and, upon the whole, passed our time usefully and agreeably. There was one great drawback to our pleasure, in a severe attack which I suffered, of quinsied sore-throat, which was epidemical in New Orleans at the time of our visit, and from which a great number had suffered. In my own case, I was for three days unable to articulate an intelligible sound, or to swallow even a tea-spoonful of water; but, by great depletion, losing twenty ounces of blood by the lancet, and about twenty more by eighty

leeches, applied at two different times to the throat, I was restored; and was fortunate in having the joint attendance of a young Irish physician, Dr. Johnston, whom we had known at Highgate near London, and of Dr. Luzenberg, who had studied medicine in Germany, attended the hospitals in Paris and London, and was accounted one of the ablest physicians of the South. The former gentleman was resident as a physician at Alexandria, on the Red River, and had taken his passage for that place from New Orleans, but hearing of our arrival here, he left the steam-boat, came on shore to see us, and determined to remain a week or two for the enjoyment of our society; and mutually interesting and agreeable it was, to a high degree, to talk over old scenes and old occurrences, to recapitulate old friendships, and old social enjoyments which we had shared together. I met here, also, a gentleman who was in Smyrna in 1812, during my visit to that city; and I enjoyed a similar pleasure with him in talking of old scenes and old friends in that remote quarter; while a great number of gentlemen who had been in England, and who had known me in London, some in the House of Commons, and others in Liverpool and elsewhere, came to renew their acquaintance, and to make our stay agreeable. We became acquainted also with a most delightful circle of resident families, to whom we had letters of introduction, as well as with many who did not want for this passport to seek our acquaintance; and we found among these as many intelligent, hospitable, virtuous, and agreeable persons, as we had met with in any of the cities of the North.

With the assistance and under the guidance of the friends by whom we soon found ourselves surrounded, I had easy access to every available source of information respecting the history and statistics of the State of Louisiana. By the same means also, I was enabled to visit all the public buildings and institutions of the city, many of which interested me exceedingly, and especially those of a charitable and benevolent nature; for, after all that I had heard of New Orleans, and its dissipation and profligacy, I had hardly expected to have found so many, and such excellent institutions of this nature, and so well supported as those which I examined here.

Our acquaintance with the visitors and transient population of the place brought us into contact with persons from all parts of the Union. In the hotel in which we resided, there were nearly 500 inmates, about 300 dining at the gentlemen's tables, and 200 at the ladies'. Our intercourse with the resident families was kept up by morning and evening visits, drives, and social parties. We had an opportunity of seeing something of the Crêole population of the best class, in the French quarter, by an evening passed at one of Madame Caradori Allan's concerts, given at the St. Louis Hotel. The audience here was chiefly composed of families of French and Spanish origin, these being the chief patrons of music in New Orleans; and among the many elegant and beautiful Crêole ladies present, (for the gentlemen did not form a third of the audience,) there were none who did not evince, by the bright and beaming expressions of their countenances, how much they

enjoyed the exquisite strains of this accomplished singer, as well as interesting and amiable lady.

The attendants on my own lectures, which were given in the Presbyterian church, in Lafayette-square, to large audiences, afforded fair specimens of the resident American families, as few of the French or Spanish Crêoles understand English sufficiently well to comprehend a continued discourse ; and their taste is not for the grave and the instructive, so much as for the gay and the entertaining. In addition to this, I attended three public meetings in New Orleans, at which were very crowded assemblies, composed of the best portions of the resident society ; and with many of these we afterwards became intimately acquainted.

These public meetings had for their object the special recommendation of the establishment of a Sailors' Home for New Orleans. The first meeting was on the anniversary of the New Orleans Port Society, and was held in the Presbyterian church on the morning of Sunday, the 7th of April, it being the custom here to hold meetings for benevolent purposes on the Sabbath-day ; the second was held on the evening of Friday the 12th of April ; and the third on the evening of Sunday, the 14th of April, each at the same place. The last meeting was attended by a very large number, as many indeed as the church would hold, every pew and all the aisles being completely full, and many being obliged to go away for want of room. The lower part of the church was filled with ladies and gentlemen of the city ; and the galleries were occupied by well-dressed and orderly

seamen ; there must have been at least a thousand of the former class, and from three to four hundred of the latter, present. The Collector of the Customs at New Orleans, Mr. Breedlow, as president of the Seamen's Friend Society, occupied the chair on each occasion, and the address on behalf of the proposed institution was confided chiefly to myself. A brief report of the proceedings at this last meeting was published in the Commercial Bulletin of this city ; and as it is generally accurate, and contains at least the outline of the facts and arguments adduced on this occasion, which may apply to almost every other seaport of the world, as well as to New Orleans, I have inserted it in the Appendix, as some benevolent friend of the neglected mariners of Europe, reading it there, may be induced, perhaps, by its perusal, to begin the work of founding a British Sailor's Home in the seaport nearest to his own abode.*

* The necessity of such meetings as these, for New Orleans at least, may be judged of from the following facts, derived from a statistical report, drawn up by Dr. Barton, an eminent physician and philanthropist here. There are in New Orleans, during the shipping season, never less than 5,000 seamen and boatmen constantly in port, and 30,000 visit it in the course of the year. They are drained of almost all their wages by the landlords of grog-shops and boarding-houses before they leave the shore, and spend nearly a million of dollars yearly in these haunts. In the very first street in which sailors land, there are more than 100 grog-shops ; on the Levée, every third or fourth house is engaged in selling intoxicating drinks. In 1835 there were licensed in New Orleans, 801 hotels and cabarets ; in number sufficient, if placed in a line, to extend eight miles in length, and completely to surround the city. In these there is spent, every year, on an average, the enormous sum of 6,884,800 dollars, deduced from official returns of the last three years ; and this amount is gradually increasing ! The further statistics on this subject will be found in the report alluded to in the Appendix.

CHAP. XVIII.

History of the colony—Florida—Arkansas—Missouri—Voyages of Ponce de Leon and Hernandez de Soto—Marquette, Herville—French Canadians—Mississippi company of John Law, the South-sea schemer—Cession of Louisiana by France to Spain—Sale of Louisiana to the United States—Present boundaries and area of the State—Soil, climate, and productions of its different parts—Pasture of cattle on the prairie lands—Population of Louisiana; numbers and classes—Religion—Legislature and judiciary of the State.

THE original colony of Louisiana, of which New Orleans is the present capital, embraced what now forms the Territory of Florida, and the States of Arkansas and Missouri, as well as the lands of the Far West, beyond these, to the Rocky Mountains.

As early as the year 1512, the Spaniards first laid claim to Florida, whose shores they contended had not been visited by Sebastian Cabot, as he had never gone so far south, and therefore the pretensions of England to the possession of this territory, they held to be wholly unfounded. At this period, the Spanish governor of Porto Rico, named Ponce de Leon, arrived on its shores, in the course of a voyage he was making in quest of a land, which was reported to contain a brook, or fountain, endowed with the miraculous power of restoring the bloom and vigour of youth to age and decrepitude. "Believing," says Grahame, from whose interesting history this

fact is quoted, "that he had now attained the favoured region, he hastened to take possession, in his sovereign's name, of so rare and valuable an acquisition. He bestowed on it the name of Florida, either on account of the vernal beauty that adorned its surface, or because he discovered it on the Sunday before Easter, which the Spaniards called Pasqua de Flores; but though he chilled his aged frame by bathing in every stream that he could find, he had the mortification of returning an older instead of a younger man to Porto Rico."

In 1523 the whole of this coast was surveyed with great care by the Italian navigator, Verrazzano, in the service of the French; and in 1538, the celebrated Hernandez de Soto made his journey into the interior, discovering, for the first time, the Mississippi river, and passing along its banks up through the whole of the territory now forming the State of Louisiana. They encountered great difficulties from sickness, and the hostilities of the Indians; by the joint operation of which, the chief and all his followers were gradually destroyed, and found a grave in the great Father of Waters, whose mighty stream they had been the first to discover and explore.

In 1673, a French monk, named Marquette, travelled as a missionary from Canada, and after a journey of many hundred miles, full of perils, he reached the banks of the Mississippi. He was followed by others from the same quarter, and the intelligence of their journeys being conveyed to France, an expedition was fitted out from thence, with every thing necessary for the establishment of a colony

here ; but it was unfortunately destroyed by a storm in the Gulf of Mexico.

In 1698 a second attempt to found a colony was more successful. On this occasion, a leader named Herville, arrived with 200 colonists from France, and formed a settlement in the Bay of Beloxi, about midway between Mobile and New Orleans.

In 1700 some idea seemed to have been entertained by the English, of forming a settlement on the Mississippi ; to prevent which, the French built their first fort above the Balize, as the entrance to that stream is called. Soon after this, an English ship-of-war, of eighteen guns, entered the river ; but being uncertain whether it was really the Mississippi or not, the captain inquired to this effect of the governor of the fort, who appears to have answered in the negative, as the British commander is said to have turned back in his route, and gone to seek the Mississippi farther west. The memory of this anecdote is preserved in the name given to the bend of the river where this happened, it being called " The English Turn."

In 1717 a company was formed in Paris, at the head of which was the celebrated John Law, of Lauriston, the Scotch financier, and founder of the South Sea Bubble, the Mississippi Scheme, and other wild and fraudulent speculations. Although his projects brought ruin upon his own head, and on those who were involved with him, they had a beneficial effect on the interests of the colony itself ; for they caused hundreds of the ruined speculators to come to the country, and thus bringing into it their

labour and intelligence, they laid the foundations of its future prosperity.

After some disastrous wars with the Indians, during which a horrible massacre of the whites took place in 1729, at Natchitoches, the charter of the Mississippi Company was surrendered to the king of France in 1732, at which period the colony contained a population of 5,000 whites and 200 blacks.

In 1754 the population was greatly increased by the arrival of emigrants from Acadia, now called Nova Scotia, from whence they had been driven by the tyranny of the British government. In 1759, others, from Canada, sought a refuge in Louisiana; and these united sources added much to the strength and welfare of the colony.

Soon after this, Louisiana was ceded by France to Spain; and although the settlers at first protested against this cession, and even refused admission to the first Spanish governor, yet they ultimately yielded; though signal vengeance was taken on the leaders of the resistance, some of whom were shot, and others immured in dungeons in the Havannah.

In 1779 war was declared between England and Spain, which led to many battles and skirmishes between the ships and settlers of these two nations, when the Spaniards were successful in taking Baton Rouge from the English, and in planting themselves at Mobile and Pensacola.

In 1792 the Baron de Carondelet was appointed governor, and under his administration the first newspaper was printed in Louisiana, under the title of "Le Moniteur." The culture of sugar was now first begun here also, and superseded that of indigo,

which had till this time been the staple production.

In 1795 the navigation of the Mississippi was opened by the treaty of St. Lorenzo, to the Western States of the American Union ; and from this period its commercial prosperity began greatly to advance.

In 1801 the colony of Louisiana was ceded back from Spain again to France, who did not, however, take possession of it till 1803, and that merely for the purpose of transferring it to the United States, to whom it was ceded by the treaty of Paris in April of that year, for the sum of sixty millions of francs. The population of Louisiana, which then included all Florida, the towns of Mobile and Pensacola, Arkansas Territory, and Missouri, was 49,474 in the whole.

In 1804 the territory was divided into two separate governments, the upper one being above latitude 33° North, being called the Territory of Louisiana, and the lower one, the Territory of New Orleans ; each governed by a legislative council.

In 1807 many thousand French emigrants from St. Domingo, driven out by the revolution of the blacks there, sought an asylum in this quarter, and largely augmented the French population.

In 1812 the united Territories were formed into the State of Louisiana, and admitted into the great American Union, with her present constitution, General Claiborne being made the first governor. In this year, too, the first steam-boat seen on the Mississippi, descended the river from Pittsburg to New Orleans ; and from these two epochas, the admission of the State into the Federal Union, and the

beginning of steam-navigation on the waters of the Mississippi, may be dated the rapid rise and progress of the whole region, in population and in wealth.

The State of Louisiana, as at present constituted, is bounded on the north by Arkansas, and the State of Mississippi, on the east by the same State, on the west by Texas, and on the south by the Gulf of Mexico. On the east of the Mississippi river, its boundary is the thirty-first degree of North latitude, and on the west of that river its boundary is the thirty-third degree. Its extreme eastern boundary is the Pearl river, and its western the river Sabine, while the Gulf of Mexico washes all its southern coast. Its length, therefore, is 240 miles, its breadth 210 miles ; and it contains an area of 48,220 square miles, or 30,860,800 acres.

There is no similar extent of surface perhaps in the world, that is better calculated for rich and profitable production, than this area of Louisiana, where soil, climate, and water all contribute to produce the highest degree of almost uninterrupted fertility. Beginning at the southern extremity, the mouths of the Mississippi exhibit the most recently formed alluvial tracts, where the first formations of soil by the deposits of the river, amid tall reeds and grass, are hourly going on, and the newly-created land is thus continually projecting itself outward in a pointed form, into the sea. Beyond this, inland, and especially along the river's banks, are the low lands, subject to annual inundation from the overflowings of the Mississippi. According to Mr. Darby, the average width of overflown lands above Red River, from latitude 31° to 33° North, may be assumed at twenty miles,

equal to 2,770 square miles. Between latitude 31° North to the efflux of the Lafourche, about eighty miles in extent, the inundation is about forty miles in width, or equal to 3,200 square miles. All the country between the efflux of the Lafourche is liable to be inundated, which is equal to 2,370 square miles more. From this calculation it appears that 8,340 square miles are liable to be inundated by the overflowing of the Mississippi; and if to this be added 2,550 square miles for the inundated lands on Red River, the whole surface of the State of Louisiana subject to overflow will amount to 10,890 square miles. It is said, however, that though all this great extent is liable to inundation, and is all occasionally covered, there is not more than half that extent actually overflowed in any one year; yet, wherever the inundation extends, injury is rarely the result, but benefit, in increased fertility, is the almost invariable consequence.

Beyond the portions thus subject to inundation, are extensive prairies, without wood; and within these are found higher portions of land covered with trees, called pine-barrens, dry and healthy; while to these again, succeeds a rolling or wavy territory, presenting a succession of gentle hills and valleys, full of the richest verdure, and teeming with fertility.

The lands subject to inundation are most favourable to the production of rice, but for this purpose it is necessary to have embankments and sluices, so as to keep the water out, and let it in on the soil at the particular times required. To this cultivation about 250,000 acres of land are devoted. The lowest level above the inundated lands is best adapted for

sugar, and about an equal area of 250,000 acres is devoted to this production. The higher lands are occupied by the cotton plant; and ten times the area devoted either to rice or sugar, is allotted to the growth of cotton, namely 2,500,000 acres.

In the cultivation of sugar, it has been estimated that the average gain of the planters on each slave employed is from 350 to 400 dollars per annum, while in some very productive years, the gain has been equal to 600 dollars for each slave employed; so that supposing each slave to cost on the average 500 dollars, or £100 sterling, he would redeem his purchase in two years, and all the remainder of his life would be to the profit of his owner.

From 1783 up to the present time, the cultivation of sugar has gone on increasing. It is estimated that 150 millions of pounds of sugar are consumed annually in the United States; and that more than 100 millions of pounds are now made in Louisiana, Florida, and Georgia, but by far the greatest part in Louisiana. In this State alone there are about fifty millions of dollars invested in the sugar business, on lands, slaves, steam-engines, and other property; and as it is known that in 1810, the quantity of sugar made did not exceed ten millions of pounds, while in 1838, it was more than 100 millions of pounds, the increase in that period has been at least tenfold. The profit made on capital invested in the cultivation of cotton is said to be equally great, varying from twenty to forty per cent; and during the late high prices of this article, there are many estates on which the planters have realized fifty per cent per annum on the capital invested in land and slaves.

On the prairie lands in the south-western section of the State, bordering on Texas, cattle are reared in large herds, and many of the graziers there have several thousands belonging to one individual.

The population of Louisiana was, by the census of 1830, only 215,739 less than the population of the single city of New York; and of these at least one half were slaves, 109,631; but it is thought to have been nearly doubled during the last ten years. Those in the upper settlements, remote from the river and the sea, are chiefly French Canadians, and their descendants, from the stock of emigrants coming here a century ago. In the middle part of the State there are many Germans; in the lower part they are chiefly of French and Spanish descent; but of late years, many of the handy New Englanders, and settlers from Ohio and Kentucky, have found their way to the luxurious plains of the South, and these are fast amalgamating with the earlier population, and so far changing their habits and characters.

The great variety of condition in these several classes has struck most travellers; and it is said that in journeying from New Orleans to the Sabine river, men are met with in every stage of civilization. In New Orleans and other places on the banks of the Mississippi, the sugar and cotton planters live in splendid edifices, and enjoy all the luxury that wealth can impart. In Attakapas and Opelousas the glare of expensive luxury vanishes, and is followed by substantial independence. In the western parts of Opelousas are found herdsmen and hunters, whose cabins are rudely and hastily con-

structed, and the whole scenery around them recall to the imagination the very earliest stages of primeval life.

It may be readily conceived, that fruits and flowers exist in great abundance and variety. Among the former may be mentioned the peach, the fig, the orange, and the pomegranate; and among the latter, the rose, the magnolia, and the yellow jasmine. All kinds of garden vegetables also are easily produced, though horticulture is little attended to by any class of the settlers.

The predominant religion of the State has always been the Roman Catholic; the subdivision of the area being into twenty ecclesiastical parishes, each of which is supplied with priests from the old cathedral of New Orleans. Since the cession of the territory to the United States, and its incorporation into the Union, the Protestant sects have somewhat increased. They are still, however, much fewer here than in any of the older sections of the country, as may be judged from the fact, that throughout the whole of Louisiana, the Baptists have only 14 ministers, and about 1000 communicants; the Methodists, 12 ministers, and above 2000 members; the Presbyterians, 5 ministers, and about 300 communicants; and the Episcopalians, 3 ministers, and not more than 200 communicants.

The legislative body of Louisiana consists of a Governor, a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The Governor is elected by the people every four years. The qualifications require him to be thirty-five years of age, a citizen of the United States, and a resident of Louisiana for six years preceding his

election. He must possess a landed estate of the clear value of 5,000 dollars, or £1,000 sterling. No member of Congress, or person holding office under government, or minister of any religious body, can be elected; nor can any Governor be eligible to serve two successive terms. His salary is 7,500 dollars, or £1,500 sterling, per annum.

The Senate consists of seventeen members, elected by the people for four years; one-half being elected every two years. They must be twenty-seven years of age, have resided four years within the State, and hold landed property to the value of 1,000 dollars.

The House of Representatives consists of fifty members, elected every two years. They must be twenty-one years of age, have resided two years within the State, and be possessed of a landed estate of the value of 500 dollars.

The voters include every free white male citizen of the United States, of twenty-one years of age, who has resided one year within the parish in which he votes, and who, in the six months preceding the election, shall have paid his State taxes.

The judiciary consists of a Supreme Court, with three judges, each at 5,000 dollars a year; and eight district or circuit judges, at 3,000 dollars a year.

Louisiana sends only three members to the House of Representatives in the General Congress, (the State of New York sends forty,) this being the ratio of its population; but, like all other States, it sends two members to the Senate; all the States being equally represented in that body.

CHAP. XIX.

History of New Orleans—French settlers—Jesuits—British vessels—Cession of the city to Americans—First steam-boat—Rapid increase in population, shipping, and commerce—Contrast between the history of India and America.

New Orleans, the capital of Louisiana, and the only city or town of importance within the State, is a place of considerable interest, from its history, its position, and its general character, so different from that of any other city of the United States, or indeed of any other place on the American continent.

It was in 1718 that New Orleans was first founded. Previous to this period, the seat of government for Louisiana had been fixed at Biloxi, a spot between the Mississippi and Alabama rivers, on the coast; but in this year, the French governor, Bienville, selected the present site of New Orleans for his new capital, and employed men to clear the ground, and erect the necessary buildings; but, from various obstacles, the spot was not fully occupied till 1722.

In 1723, it was visited by Charlevoix, who came down from Canada, nearly all the way, by the Mississippi river, a journey of more than 3,000 miles; and he describes it as consisting then of about one hundred cabins, placed without much order, a large wooden warehouse, two or three dwelling-houses,

and a miserable store-house, which had been used as a chapel; a shed being converted into the house of prayer. The population did not then exceed two hundred.

In this same year, many Germans who had come out under the delusive promises of John Law, the Mississippi schemer, augmented the numbers settled at New Orleans. They came down from the Arkansas river, where lands had been promised them, but which they were unable to obtain, and sought to find a passage back to Europe. The government, being unable to furnish this, granted them small allotments of land, on a part of the river called the German coast, where they settled, and where their descendants inhabit to this day.

In 1727, a large party of Jesuits and Ursuline Nuns arrived from France, and established themselves in a convent, on land granted to them in the city.

In 1763, the Jesuits were expelled from all the dominions of the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, by a decree of Clement XIII. and were accordingly obliged to leave New Orleans. Their property, which was seized and sold under an order in council, then produced 180,000 dollars; and it is said that the same property is now worth 15,000,000 dollars, at least, merely as land, exclusive of the buildings and improvements made on it; so great has been the increase in the value of land within the precincts of the city.

In 1764, British vessels first began to visit the Mississippi, for trade; and it is stated that they would sail up beyond the city of New Orleans, make the ships fast to a tree on the banks of the river,

and there trade with the native Indians, or the citizens and planters of the neighbouring country.

In 1769, the yellow fever first visited New Orleans ; and in the following year, the cold was so intense, that the Mississippi was frozen over for several yards on each side of the river. In 1785, the population of the city was 4,980. In 1788, on Good Friday, a fire broke out, which destroyed 900 houses, and created great distress. In 1792, the Baron Carondelet was appointed governor, and he introduced a spirit of enterprise and improvement unknown before. He divided the city into wards, lighted it, and appointed watchmen, erected fortifications, opened a canal, raised a militia, and gave a great stimulus to commerce.

In 1794 the first newspaper was published here, under a French title, "Le Moniteur de la Louisiana," though the colony was subject to Spain. Another extensive conflagration, and a hurricane, committed great ravages, and considerably retarded the prosperity of the colony. The population of the city was then 8,056.

In 1803, the city became American, by the cession of Louisiana to the United States ; and in 1805 it was incorporated by charter, and placed under the regular municipal government of a mayor, aldermen, and council. This gave so great an impetus to improvement in every way, that in 1810 the population amounted to 24,552, having trebled itself within the last seven years.

In 1812, the first steam-boat, called the New Orleans, descended the river from Pittsburg ; and from that period the commerce of the city has gone

on increasing with so much rapidity, that there are at present nearly 500 steam-vessels plying on the waters of the Mississippi, and about 400 ships and sailing vessels in the port of New Orleans, from all quarters of the globe. The tonnage of the port in the last year was 102,785 tons, and the imports and exports of the three preceding years were as follow—

Years.	Imports.		Exports.
1835 ...	13,781,809 dollars.	...	23,759,607 dollars.
1836 ...	17,519,814 "	...	36,270,823 "
1837 ...	15,117,649 "	...	37,179,828 "

The population has increased in a still greater ratio, as will be seen by the following statement—

In 1810	24,552	In 1825	45,336
1815	32,947	1830	49,826
1820	41,351	1835	76,242

At present it is estimated to exceed 100,000; the proportion maintained throughout all these periods being pretty nearly the same between the black and the white, their respective numbers being about equal, the former rather predominating of late, and going on increasing.

On the subject of the shipping and commerce of the port, more minute details may perhaps be acceptable, and these can be presented in an official form; the following being the authorized statements, under the signature of the Collector of the Customs, published at New Orleans during our stay there, in the *Louisianian* of March 28, 1839.

AMOUNT OF TONNAGE entered at the Custom House at New Orleans, during the year 1838.		DUTIES ON IMPORTS, secured at the Port of New Orleans, during the year 1838.	
	Tons.		Dollars.
1st Quarter	133,316	1st Quarter	272,719
2d Quarter	130,020	2d Quarter	380,140
3d Quarter	46,649	3d Quarter	339,537
4th Quarter	136,731	4th Quarter	540,768

Total 446,731

Total Amt. for the Year 1,533,164

Up to 1828, the greatest amount of tonnage entered in any one year was 57,000 tons.

VALUE OF EXPORTS from the Port of New Orleans, during the year 1838.				VALUE OF FOREIGN MERCHANDISE entered at New Orleans, during the year 1838.			
Dlars.				Dollars.			
1st	Qr. ending	31st Mar.	18,615,327	1st	Qr. ending	31st Mar.	2,951,863
2d	"	"	30th June, 13,394,996	2d	"	"	30th June, 2,576,553
3d	"	"	30th Sept. 5,895,825	3d	"	"	30th Sept. 1,742,827
4th	"	"	31st Dec. 7,510,583	4th	"	"	31st Dec. 3,408,768
Total for the year, 45,416,731				Total Amount 10,680,011			
(Signed)				J. W. BREEDLOVE, Collector.			
Collector's Office, New Orleans.							

If history and experience can teach us anything, surely these facts must be sufficient to show the superiority of free institutions and unfettered commerce, over despotism in government and monopoly in trade; though of such proofs the whole history of America is full. As a contrast, let us look at the fact, that, about two hundred years ago, the English East India Company obtained their first settlement in India, which was then a rich, populous, and flourishing country; and after two centuries of misrule and monopoly, Hindoostan is far less populous, and less wealthy, and its people are more impoverished, than they were then. About the same period, 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers landed in America, and found it a wilderness, peopled only by savages, without literature, laws, or trade. Under free institutions and unfettered commerce, it has now become one of the first countries in the world, and even in its infancy may rank side by side with the oldest nations of the earth. Such are the lessons which history teaches.

C H A P. XX.

Description of New Orleans—Favourable situation—Beautiful sweep, or curve, of its bay—Distance from various points on the river—Gradual elevation of the bed of the Mississippi—Similar examples in other large streams: the Nile, the Rhone, the Rhine, the Po, and the Arno, the Ganges and the Indus—Rennel, and Lyall—Dykes or levées, embanking the Mississippi—Crevasse, or bursting of the river's bounds—Lands gained for tillage by alluvial deposit—Subterranean forests—Beds of marine shells.

THE situation of New Orleans is well chosen, and admirably adapted for a large commercial city. The Mississippi river may be said to run a general course from north to south for at least seven-eighths of its length. As it approaches the sea, however, within about 200 miles, it bends its course from west to east. Besides this general change of direction, it has several serpentine bends or curves, in which the stream actually flows from south to north. In one of these, the city of New Orleans stands; so that, though it is on the left bank of the river as you descend from its source to the sea, it is nevertheless on the west of the stream, in consequence of which, the sun rises opposite to New Orleans, and sets over the city, contrary to the impression which almost all strangers would have of its locality without seeing it.

In the bold and sweeping curves of the river thus described, the city is so placed as to line the concavity of the curve, like a deep bay, for a length of

more than three miles along the water's-edge, extending inland in breadth about a mile in the centre, and half a mile at either extremity. The river is only three-quarters of a mile broad immediately opposite to the city; and on the convexity of the curve of the opposite bank, stands a small town called Algiers. The water is much too deep, and the stream too turbulent, to admit of the construction of a bridge across; the passage from one side to the other is therefore effected only by steam ferry-boats.

The distance of New Orleans, from the mouths of the Mississippi at the sea, is just 105 miles, the latitude of the city being 30° N.; and it is remarkable that this line, or parallel of latitude, should cut near so many seaports, and places on great rivers, as Cairo on the Nile, Suez at the head of the Red Sea, Bussorah on the Euphrates at the head of the Persian Gulf, Mobile on the Alabama, and New Orleans on the Mississippi, at the head of the Gulf of Mexico. This city is 1,000 miles below the junction of the Ohio, 1,200 miles below the junction of the Missouri; nearly 3,000 miles from the sources of the Mississippi, and 1,200 from the seat of government at Washington—such are the distances of this extensive Union!

Everywhere along its lower section near the ocean, the Mississippi gives proof of its having, like other great rivers, gradually raised its bed above its original level, and increased its deposits near its point of contact with the sea, so as to create every day new land projecting outwards in a constantly increasing tongue or point, pushing itself southward into the Mexican Gulf. So rapid has been this increase in

the elevation of the soil, that already, when New Orleans is scarcely a century old, the bed of the river has been so raised above the level of the city, as to require a high embankment on either side, under the name of a *levée*, to prevent the waters from bursting through, and submerging the dwellings and their inmates beneath the stream.

This subject having engaged my attention when on the banks of the Ganges and the banks of the Nile, and re-engaging it here, I may be permitted to cite the authorities collected by the Baron Cuvier, in his interesting “Discourse on the Revolutions of the Surface of the Globe,” in support of his views as to the extent of the lands gained by the perpetual deposits of alluvial matters by large rivers. After mentioning the changes that had taken place in the coast of Egypt, from the time of Homer to Strabo, occasioned wholly by the alluvial deposits of the Nile, he says—

“The ancients were acquainted with these alterations. Herodotus says that the priests of Egypt looked on their country as the gift of the river Nile. It is only a short time, he says, that in a manner the Delta has appeared (*Euterpe*, 5 and 15). Aristotle observes, that Homer speaks of Thebes as if it were the only city of Egypt, and makes no mention of Memphis. The Canopian and Pelusian mouths of the Nile were formerly the principal ones; and the coast extended in a direct line from one to the other; it appears so in the charts of Ptolemy. Since his time, however, the waters have been cast into the Bolbitian and Phatnitic mouths; and at these entrances, the most extensive formations of accumulated alluvial deposits have been made, which have given a semicircular contour to the coast. The cities of Rosetta and Damietta, built on the sea-shores at these mouths, less than a thousand years since, are now two leagues distant from it.

“The height of the soil of Egypt is produced at the same time as the extension of its surface, and the bottom of the bed of the river is elevated in proportion to the adjacent plains, whence the inundation of every succeeding century much exceeds the height of the marks it left of its preceding ones. According to Herodotus, a lapse of 900 years was sufficient to establish a difference in the level, of seven or eight cubits, ten or twelve feet (Euterpe 13). At Elephantina the inundation now reaches seven feet higher than during the reign of Septimus Severus, at the beginning of the third century. At Cairo, before it is deemed sufficient for the purpose of irrigating the lands, it must attain a height of three feet and a half more than was required in the ninth century. The ancient monuments of this country are all more or less enveloped in the soil. The mud left by the river even covers the small artificial hills on which the ancient cities were founded, to a depth of several feet.

“The Delta of the Rhone is no less remarkable for its accumulation. Astruc details them in his History of Languedoc; and by a careful comparison of the descriptions of Mela, Strabo, and Pliny, with the state of the places, as they were at the commencement of the eighteenth century, he proves, by the aid of many writers of the middle ages, that the arms of the Rhone have extended themselves three leagues during eighteen centuries; that the alluvial accumulations of a similar kind have been formed to the west of the Rhone, and that many places situated, six or eight centuries since, on the banks of the sea-shore, are now many miles inland.

“Any person may observe in Holland and Italy, how rapidly the Rhine, the Po, and the Arno, now that they are confined within dykes, raise their bed, how their mouths approach the sea by forming long promontories at their sides, and can judge by these facts how few centuries these waves have employed in depositing the flat plains which they at present traverse.

“M. de Prony, having been employed by the French government to examine what remedies could be applied to the devastations occasioned by the floods of the Po, ascertained that this river, since the time when dykes enclosed it, has elevated its bed so greatly, that the surface of its water is now higher than the

roofs of the houses of Ferrara. At the same time, its alluvia. deposits have advanced to the sea with so much rapidity, that on a comparison between the ancient charts and its present state, we find that the shore has gained more than 6,000 fathoms since 1604, which is an average of 120 or 180, and in some places 200 feet per annum.

“The same causes have produced the same effects along the branches of the Rhine and the Meuse ; and thus the richest districts of Holland have perpetually before them the frightful sight of their waters suspended above their soil at a height of twenty or thirty feet.”

I have cited these authorities at some length, as they correctly represent the state of the Mississippi, as well as the other rivers specially named. I might have referred also to what is stated by Rennel, Lyall, and other writers, on the Deltas of the Ganges, the Indus, and other great streams ; but enough has been said to show how uniformly the same causes produce the same effects in all the great rivers of the globe. I remember to have seen the site of the temple of Isis, at Bubastis in Lower Egypt, with the mounds and embankments, placed around it to prevent the overflow of the Nile from reaching the sacred precincts, as the bed of that river had risen many feet since the temple was built ; and the site of the city of New Orleans, in a much shorter space of time, requires to be thus protected by the same means.

To prevent the waters of the Mississippi from laying all the surrounding country under the flood, it is found necessary to keep up the embankment of the high mounds constituting the levée, with great care. On the eastern side of the river, this embankment commences 125 miles above New Orleans, and extends down the river to Fort St. Philip, 60 miles

below the city. On the western side, it commences at the river Atchafalaya, 140 miles above New Orleans, extending also as far down the river as the former. The levée is usually about twelve feet thick at the base, and six feet high, with a good broad footpath all along the top; but in places where the pressure of the river is greater than in others, the base is often increased to thirty feet in thickness. Notwithstanding this, however, the waters sometimes break through, forming what is called a crevasse. Mr. Brackenridge describes such a crevasse as rushing from the river with indescribable impetuosity, and a noise like the roaring of a cataract, boiling and foaming, and tearing everything before it. When such a calamity occurs, the inhabitants, for miles above and below the spot where the crevasse opens, abandon every employment, and use all their exertions to stop the breach. Their efforts are sometimes successful; but it more frequently happens that the torrent is too overwhelming to be stayed, when the destruction of crops, buildings, and even lives, often follows, while the soil is swept away and the surface left encumbered with large trees, logs, and drift-wood, brought down by the current, which must all be removed before cultivation can be resumed.

The last calamity of this kind that happened, was in May, 1816, when the levée was broken through at a spot called Macartney's plantation, about nine miles above New Orleans. It spread its devastation, however, quite down to the city; and Mr. Gibson, an eye-witness of the scene, says he remembers seeing hundreds of the dwellings of New Orleans deserted by their owners and tenants, and furniture

and drowned animals covering the whole of the grounds in the back part of the town. The crevasse was ultimately closed up by the sinking of a vessel in the breach, and filling up the intervening space with fascines and earth ; but the injury created by it was so great, that many plantations in its neighbourhood had to be entirely abandoned, and the quality of the soil was deteriorated for miles around.

On the other hand, large tracts of soil are sometimes recovered from the river, and converted into productive lands. It is stated that the Board of Public Works for the State of Louisiana have redeemed no less than 450,000 acres of excellent land, in the clearing of Bayou Lafourche ; and it is estimated that the works on the Atchafalaya river, when completed, will redeem 300,000 acres more.

On the subject of the rise of the Mississippi, and the elevation of its bed, it may be mentioned that during our stay at New Orleans, some persons were employed in digging a well, when they came, at the depth of thirteen feet below the surface, to a forest of trees, standing upright in their natural position, all without leaves, and mostly without branches ; or with the branches broken off and destroyed, but the trunks still fresh, and one of them was sawed through, of the diameter of eleven feet ! So deep is the vegetable soil in all this quarter, that a single man can bore to the depth of fifty feet without assistance, there being nothing but soft alluvial mould all the way down to that depth ; and when an experiment was made by boring to the depth of 200 feet, a bed of marine shells was found there.

CHAP. XXI.

Plan and topography of the old city—Fauxbourgs, Boulevards, and new suburbs—Striking contrasts and juxtapositions in names of streets—The *Levée*, its shipping, bustle, and activity—Public buildings, cathedral, and Catholic churches—Episcopal, Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational churches—State-house, charity hospital, Franklin infirmary—Mint, barracks, and prisons of the city.

THE original city of New Orleans, built under the Spanish and French governments, lies in the deepest part of the curve or bend of the Mississippi. Its form is oblong, presenting a front of about 1,300 yards towards the river, and extending back about 700 yards from the stream. It is intersected by streets running at right angles to each other, the streets being twenty-two in number, and thus dividing the city into eighty-four principal, and fourteen minor blocks or squares. This portion is encompassed by three broad avenues, called *Rue de l'Esplanade*, *Rue de Rampart*, and *Rue de Canal*, each adorned with rows of trees, not unlike the Boulevards of Paris, and other French cities. The streets, though regular, are narrow, rarely exceeding forty feet in breadth, and the whole style of building, both in stores and private dwellings, is decidedly French, as are all the names of the streets and avenues within these limits.

Beyond the city proper, are fauxbourgs, built in nearly the same style ; and beyond Canal-street, in

the upper part of the city, commences what is called the American quarter, which extends along the river till you come to the adjoining city of Lafayette. This, however, may be more properly called a suburb of New Orleans, the union of the two being as unbroken as that of London and Westminster. The American quarter has more spacious streets, more substantial dwellings, and is altogether better built, better lighted, and better ventilated, than the French and Spanish sections; and there is no doubt but that all subsequent additions to the city in every direction, will partake of this improved character.

The names of the streets in different quarters present some ludicrous contrasts. For instance, in the lower fauxbourg, before reaching the old city, there are Love, Pretty, and Desire streets, close by Good Children Avenue, and Greatmen-street; and among the great men named are, Washington, Lafayette, Enghein, David, Bartholomew, St. Bernard, St. Ferdinand, St. John the Baptist, Moreau, Cazacalvo, Urquhart, Montague, and Clouet. There is then, Congress, Independence, and Poland, with Music, Painting, Genius, and the Arts, all giving their names to streets and avenues. In the old city, the Rue Royal, and Rue de Chartres, are the principal streets; but there are also Bourbon, Dauphin, and Burgundy, St. Louis, Conti, Bienville, Baronne, Gravier, Condé, Toulouse, and Ursuline. In the American quarter, are St. Charles, Camp, Pearl, and Commerce, Magazine, Notre Dame, Tchapitaulas, and Carondelet. In the suburb, or city of Lafayette, there is the Tivoli Circle, the Triton Walk, the Naiads, the Dryads, the Coliseum,

with Hercules, Bacchus, and Apollo, all giving their names to streets ; and these are crossed at right angles by avenues, called after the Muses, Urania, Polyhymnia, Euterpé, Terpsichoré, Melpomené, Thalia, Erato, Clio, and Calliopé. Felicity-street, and Liberty-street, are close by ; and Religious-street is hemmed in by Nun's-street, Celeste, St. James's, and John the Baptist.

The most animated and bustling part of all the city is the Levée, or raised bank running along immediately in front of the river, and extending beyond the houses and streets, from 100 to 150 yards, for a length of at least three miles, from one end of the city to the other. Along the edge of this Levée, all the ships and vessels are anchored or moored in tiers of three or four deep. The largest and finest vessels are usually at the upper end of the city, near Lafayette, the steam-boats lie in the centre, and the smaller vessels and coasters occupy the bank at the lower end of the city. It may be doubted whether any river in the world can exhibit so magnificent a spectacle as the Mississippi in this respect. There are more ships in the Thames, but the largest and finest of these are usually in the various docks, while the smaller kind are chiefly seen without, and the Thames has not half the ample breadth and sweep of the Mississippi. There are as many vessels, perhaps, in the Mersey, but these are nearly all in dock, and the river is comparatively bare. The Tagus is a broader stream, but its shipping are neither so numerous nor so fine ; and even New York, splendid as is the array of ships presented by her wharfs, is not so striking as New Orleans, where a greater

number of large, handsome, and fine vessels seemed to me to line the magnificent curve of the Mississippi, than I had ever before seen in any one port. The reflection that these are all congregated here to receive and convey away to other lands the produce of such mighty streams as the Missouri and the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Tennessee, the Arkansas, and the Red River, including more than 20,000 miles of inland navigation, the sources of the principal streams being in the region of perpetual snows, and their outlet in the latitude of perpetual verdure, carries one's admiration to the verge of the sublime.

The Levée itself, on the edge of which all these ships and vessels are anchored, is covered with bales of cotton and other merchandise ; and in the busy season, such as that in which we were at New Orleans, in March and April, it is filled with buyers and sellers, from every part of the Union, and spectators from all parts of the world. There are no less than 1,500 drays for the conveyance of this merchandise. licensed by the city ; and they seem to be all in motion, flying to and fro on a brisk trot, whether laden or empty—the horses never walking, and the drivers never sitting, either on the shafts, or in the drays, as in Europe. The bales of cotton, on their arrival in the rafts or steam-boats, from the upper country, are carried off to the numerous establishments of steam-presses, where they are compressed into about half their original bulk, and repacked in this reduced shape for shipment to foreign ports. All this, with the arrival and departure every day of many hundreds of passengers up and down the river, from Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, and Pittsburg,

to the Havannah, to New York, and to Texas, occasions such incessant bustle, that every body and every thing seems to be in perpetual motion.

Of the public buildings, the oldest and most remarkable is the Cathedral, which is nearly in the centre of the old city. It is immediately fronting the river, and has before it an open square, called the Place d'Armes, by which its front view is unobstructed. This edifice was commenced in 1792, and completed in 1794, by or at the expense of Don André Almonaster, perpetual regidor, and Alvarez Real, on condition of masses being offered for the soul of its founder every Saturday evening, a condition which is rigidly fulfilled. The building is in a heavy and corrupt style of architecture, a mixture of the Tuscan and the Doric, with one tall central tower, and two shorter wing-towers, each covered with a sort of bell-shaped cap. Nor is the interior at all more worthy of admiration as to style of building or ornament; ranking, in these respects, with the religious edifices of third or fourth class provincial towns in the least frequented parts of France. The first curate of the parish that was appointed to this cathedral, was Antonio de Sedella, who filled that office for upwards of fifty years, having come to New Orleans in 1779, and dying in 1837, at the age of ninety years. This single individual, it is thought, during that time, celebrated and performed nearly half the marriages and funerals occurring among the Catholic inhabitants of the city for half a century. He was buried at the foot of the altar at which he served so long and faithfully, and has left behind him a reputation for virtue and benevolence, which many a Christian pastor might be proud to enjoy.

On either side of the Cathedral are two large buildings, serving as appendages, or apparent wings to the Cathedral itself, and much improving its effect as a centre. These are, the City-hall, and the Court-house, built by the same individual, Don André Almonaster. They are in the same style of architecture, an union of the Tuscan and the Doric; but not being disfigured by towers, and having bold cornices, good pediments, and crowning balustrades, they have a much better appearance than the Cathedral; and the three edifices together make an impressive if not an elegant pile.

The other religious edifices of the Catholics, comprehend the Ursuline Convent, founded in 1733, now more than a century old, and the most ancient edifice existing in the city; the Ursuline Chapel, built in 1787; and St. Antoine's, or the Mortuary Chapel, at which all the funeral services of the Catholics are now performed. A larger and more splendid building is intended to be erected, under the name of St. Patrick's Church, the design of which is to be an imitation of York Minster, on a scale of 164 feet by 93, and 190 feet for the height of its tower; the estimate of its cost being 100,000 dollars.

Of Protestant places of worship there are four. The Episcopal Church in Canal-street, with a chaste Ionic portico and pediment, and a singularly beautiful flat-domed roof; its cost being 48,000 dollars. The Presbyterian Church in Lafayette-square, of the Doric order, with a good portico, and light chaste steeple, built in 1834, and costing 55,000 dollars. The Methodist Episcopal Church in Poydras-street, of the Doric order, the details of its portico and entablature taken from the temple of Theseus

at Athens, and surmounted by a singular kind of obelisk, serving as its tower, or steeple, in which is combined the massiveness of the Egyptian with the lightness of the Greek architecture. The height of the obelisk is 170 feet, and the effect produced by it is striking and pleasing. This edifice was erected in 1836, and cost 50,000 dollars. The Congregational church, the oldest of the Protestant places of worship, founded in 1819, built of brick, without the least architectural beauty, though costing more than either of the others—70,000 dollars.

The State-house, in which the Legislature of Louisiana hold their sittings, is a plain but commodious building. It was built in 1815, and used as a Charity Hospital; but it was purchased by the State in 1834, and converted into a State-house; the Senate and House of Representatives having each their chamber here, and the rest of the building being devoted to public offices, while an open space with lawn and garden in front, makes it cool, airy, and agreeable. A very splendid design has been made for a new House of Legislature, but nothing has yet been definitively settled respecting its execution.

The new Charity Hospital, which has been erected to answer the purposes of the former, was begun in 1831, and completed in 1834, at a cost of 150,000 dollars. It is about 300 feet in length of front, by 76 in depth, including the centre and two wings, and is three stories in height. It has wards and apartments to accommodate 500 patients. The hall and lecture-room of the medical college, the dispensary, library, and museum, are all excellent in their kind; and the grounds around it are in the neatest order.

Here, too, as at Baltimore, the Sisters of Charity devote themselves, with Christian zeal and piety, to gratuitous attendance on the sick.

The Franklin Infirmary, about two miles from the town, between New Orleans and Lake Pontchartrain, is a private hospital, founded in 1835 by Dr. C. A. Luzenberg, the most eminent physician of the city (under whose skilful treatment and kind care I was restored from a most dangerous illness). It is situated in the Champs Elysées, fronting the railroad from Pontchartrain to New Orleans; is a commodious building, 65 feet by 55, and two stories high, surrounded by gardens and shrubberies, and capable of accommodating, comfortably, 100 patients.

A new Mint of the United States has just been completed here, at a cost of 182,000 dollars, being 282 feet in length, 108 in depth, and three stories in height. It is of the Ionic order, is in good taste, and is furnished with all the necessary machinery for coining.

It will be seen, therefore, that New Orleans is well supplied with all the necessary public edifices for legislation, the administration of justice, protection, police, health, benevolence and religion, in a greater degree, indeed, than its recent organization as an American city would warrant us to expect; and yet it is but in its infancy, compared to what it must certainly one day become.*

CHAP. XXII.

Hotels ; St. Charles's, St. Louis, and the Veranda — Merchants' Exchange—Municipality-hall—Banks, Markets, Public Baths —Cotton-presses, size, extent, and operations—Sugar refining, size, cost, and productions—Water-works, plan and operations —Theatres, the Orleans, St. Charles, and the Camp—Balls, Operas, Concerts, and Masquerades.

By far the most splendid and the most costly of the edifices in New Orleans, are not, however, the public buildings, strictly so called, that is, the buildings belonging to the municipality or the State, but the hotels, which are the property of companies and private individuals. Of these there are three that deserve especial notice, the St. Charles, the St. Louis, and the Veranda.

The St. Charles, which is also sometimes called the American Exchange Hotel, is not only the largest and handsomest hotel in the United States, but, as it seemed to me, the largest and handsomest hotel in the world. At least I remember nothing equal to it in any country that I have visited. The City of London Tavern, the Albion, the Freemasons' Hall, the London Coffee House, the Crown and Anchor, the Adelphi, Fenton's Hotel, the Thatched House, the Clarendon, and Long's Hotel, in London, are all inferior to it, in size, cost, and elegance. Neither Meurice's, nor the Hotel de Londres, nor the Hotel Rivoli, or Hotel Wagram in Paris, can compare with it ; and even the Astor House at

New York, the Tremont at Boston, and the American Hotel at Buffalo, all fall short of the St. Charles at New Orleans.

This building was undertaken by an incorporated company, in 1835. It was designed and erected under the superintendence of Mr. J. Gallier, the architect. The ground on which it stands cost 100,000 dollars; the building 500,000 dollars; and the furniture 150,000 more, the whole expense being thus about £150,000 sterling. Its principal front, in St. Charles-street, is 235 feet; and its depth is 195 feet. Its height, from the pavement to the cornice, is 75 feet, and to the top of the lantern or tower that surmounts the dome, 185 feet. The number of its rooms is 350. The gentlemen's dining-room is 129 feet long, 50 wide, and 22 feet high, with two ranges of Corinthian columns, and space to dine comfortably 500 guests. The ladies' dining-room is 52 feet long by 36 wide. The ladies' drawing-room is 40 feet long by 32 wide; and the gentlemen's drawing-room is 38 feet square. The kitchen is 58 feet long by 29 wide. Such is the scale of the principal parts of this large establishment.

The façade presents a bold and imposing aspect; the centre having a projecting portico of 14 Corinthian columns, in two rows of 6 in the front and 4 on each side in recess, standing on a granite basement of 14 feet high, and forming a recess of 139 feet long and 15 deep, crowned with a pediment in the best taste. The edifice is surmounted by a chaste and beautiful dome, with ornamented gallery, supported by a circular colonnade, and the whole is

crowned by an open lantern or turret in the most harmonious proportions.

The centre of the whole pile is occupied by a series of circular platforms, or stories, each forming a separate rotunda, surrounded with columns at their outer diameter ; and up through this ascends a spiral staircase, which extends to the very top of the building, from whence a commanding and beautiful view of the city and river may be enjoyed. The ascent from the street to the front is by a double flight of side steps of granite, leading up to the portico ; and from thence, into the principal rotunda, by a double flight of front steps of white marble ; between which, on a pedestal, is a sitting figure of Washington, executed in Italy, and presented by John Hagan, Esq. to the proprietors of the building.

This splendid hotel is in the American quarter of the city, a short distance in the rear from the river, and is chiefly frequented by American families and gentlemen. In the busy season, as many as 500 persons dine in the gentlemen's room, and 200 in the ladies' dining-room, but into this no gentlemen are admitted, except those who come with ladies of their own family.

The St. Louis Hotel, sometimes called the French Exchange, is in the French quarter of the city, fronting on three streets—Rue Royale, Rue St. Louis, and Rue de Chartres. This building was projected by the French citizens and merchants of New Orleans, as a rival to the great American hotel, and was begun in the same year, 1835. It was intended to combine all the conveniences of a City

Exchange for the French quarter, a hotel, a bank, large ball-rooms, and private stores; and the cost was estimated at 600,000 dollars, exclusive of all furniture, which sum, it is said, has been already exceeded, though the establishment is not yet quite completed. Its size is very large, having a front of 300 feet on the Rue St. Louis, and 120 on each of the other streets, Rue Royale and Rue de Chartres; but not having the portico, pediment, or tower, of the American building, it is not so imposing in its appearance as the St. Charles Hotel.

The entrance into the Exchange at the St. Louis, is through a handsome vestibule, or hall, of 127 feet by 40, which leads to the Rotunda. This is crowned by a beautiful and lofty dome, with finely ornamented ceiling in the interior, and a variegated marble pavement. In the outer hall, the meetings of the merchants take place in 'Change hours; and in the Rotunda, pictures are exhibited, and auctions are held for every description of goods. At the time of our visit, there were half a dozen auctioneers, each endeavouring to drown every voice but his own, and all straining their lungs, and distorting their countenances in a hideous manner. One was selling pictures, and dwelling on their merits; another was disposing of ground-lots in embryo cities, and expatiating on their capacities; and another was disposing of some slaves. These consisted of an unhappy negro family, who were all exposed to the hammer at the same time. Their good qualities were enumerated in English and in French, and their persons were carefully examined by intending purchasers, among whom they were ultimately disposed of, chiefly to Créole

buyers; the husband at 750 dollars, the wife at 550, and the children at 220 each. The middle of the Rotunda was filled with casks, boxes, bales, and crates; and the negroes exposed for sale were put to stand on these, to be the better seen by persons attending the sale. Often as I had witnessed this painful scene in the old times of the West Indies, and in several of the countries of the East; it had lost none of its pain by repetition; it appeared, indeed, more revolting here, in contrast with the republican institutions of America, than under the monarchical governments of Europe, or the absolute despotism of Asia; and while the blot of Slavery remains on this country, it never can command the respect and esteem of mankind.

The suite of ball-rooms forming part of this establishment, is unequalled, for size and beauty, in the United States; the painted ceiling of the large room being especially admired; and from the taste of the Créole population encouraging balls, concerts, masquerades, and fêtes, this department of the hotel is in as constant occupation as any other.

The accommodations are adapted to about 200 guests; the style of living is perfectly French; and many of the visitors sleep at the hotel, and send for their dinner, as in Paris, from the restaurant; but for this reason, few except the French and Créole population of New Orleans, frequent the St. Louis.

The Veranda Hotel is in the American quarter, immediately opposite the St. Charles. It is so called from being entirely surrounded with a veranda, supported by iron pillars from the pavement, over which it forms a covered way. It is kept by an

American proprietor, and frequented chiefly by families. It cost 300,000 dollars, though a mansion without any exterior ornament ; but it is very large, having twenty windows in one front, and thirteen on another. Its dining-room is particularly admired, the roof being divided into three elliptical domes for chandeliers. Its chimney-pieces are formed of Italian sculpture on the finest marble ; and a beautiful statue of Venus stands in the vestibule of the ladies' private entrance.

The style of living at these hotels is more expensive than in the North ; the cost being nearly double. Though they are well provided with furniture, table-service, and attendants, they are all too large for comfort, and are adapted only to the American mode of living, which it is difficult to render agreeable to those who have been accustomed to the quiet privacy and superior comfort of private life in England.

The Merchants' Exchange, fronting on Royal-street and Exchange-place, is another noble edifice. It was erected by a company in 1836, at a cost of 100,000 dollars. Both its fronts are of white marble, and the architecture is in the best style. The grand Exchange-room is extremely beautiful, being of the Corinthian order, and its details copied from the Monument of Lysicrates at Athens.

Designs for a new Municipality Hall were adopted in 1837, and the work is already begun. It is to be of white marble, 170 feet by 80 in area, of the Corinthian order, surmounted by a circular cupola 150 feet in height from the ground. The estimated cost of the building is 200,000 dollars.

The banks of Orleans, of which there are no less

than twenty, are mostly fine buildings, especially the Citizens' Bank, the Commercial, the City, the Atchafalaya, the Canal, the Louisiana, and the Bank of Orleans. They furnish good specimens of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders; and are as splendid in all their interior arrangements, as they are imposing in their exteriors.

The markets of New Orleans deserve especial mention. Of these there are five principal ones, the Poydras, the Washington, the St. Mary's, the Meat Market, and the Vegetable Market. They are long roofed buildings, generally occupying an open space, so as to be well ventilated, and easy of access all around; and they are kept in the greatest cleanliness and order. The Poydras is 402 feet long, and cost 40,000 dollars. The St. Mary's is 486 feet long, and cost about 50,000 dollars. The Meat Market and the Vegetable Market, are but little inferior in length, and cost about 30,000 dollars each.

There are good public baths at New Orleans; and besides those attached to the principal hotels, which are equal to any in Europe, there is a large establishment called the Arcade Baths, adjoining the Camp-street Theatre, occupying an area of 170 feet by 54. It comprehends a coffee-room, 24 bathing-rooms, a ball-room, 90 feet by 30, a saloon for billiards, and 42 lodging rooms. It was opened in 1838, and cost 120,000 dollars.

The cotton-presses of New Orleans are constructed on a most extensive scale, and are well worthy of inspection. The cotton which arrives from the interior is packed in bales of about 450 pounds weight, as much compressed as the ordinary

power of wooden presses used on the plantations will admit; but as freight is a considerable item in the cost of cotton landed in Europe, and as this depends on bulk, the attention of shippers was early drawn to the importance of bringing every bale within the smallest size, so as to put the greatest number possible in any one ship. For this purpose recourse was had to steam-power; and this being applied to the cotton-presses now in use in the city, reduced every bale of cotton coming from the interior to half its original bulk at least. The advantage of this is so great, that steam cotton-presses have multiplied exceedingly. There are two, however, worthy of more prominent notice. One of these, called The Levée Steam Cotton Press, was built in 1832, at a cost of 500,000 dollars, and it is capable of pressing 200,000 bales of cotton per annum. The other is called The Orleans Cotton Press. It was begun in 1833, and completed in 1835. It occupies a frontage towards the river of 632 feet, and a depth of 308 feet, and it cost 753,558 dollars. It can store 25,000 bales of cotton at a time, and is capable of compressing 300,000 bales per annum. Neither of these establishments have yet been put to the exercise of their full power; but their scale of size, cost, and operation, must strike every one as magnificent.

There is also a sugar-refinery on a large scale, the works having cost 370,000 dollars. It employs about 150 workmen, who produce daily from 20,000 to 30,000 pounds of refined sugar, and 2000 gallons of rum, all the sugar used here being the growth and produce of the State of Louisiana.

The New Orleans Water Works are of recent construction, and are designed to supply the city with pure water from the Mississippi river. It is said that the whole of the region through which the Red River flows is volcanic; and the waters of that stream, when poured into those of the Mississippi, bring down a quantity of ferruginous matter, which affects the taste and quality of the latter. Whether from this cause, or from some other, it is certain that the waters of the Mississippi affect strangers as an aperient, and many of the residents even find them so relaxing that they drink rain-water instead. The plan on which these water-works are constructed, is somewhat similar to that in use at Philadelphia. A large artificial mound has been raised along the river, in the upper part of the city, near Lafayette. The mound is 21 feet above the level of the soil; and includes 70,000 cubic feet of earth. It is surrounded with a brick wall, 320 feet square, 9 feet high, 6 feet thick at the base, and 2 at the top, plastered with hydraulic cement. On the summit of the mound is the reservoir, built of bricks, occupying an area of 250 feet square, divided into four compartments, each 118 feet in the clear; and the surface of the interior is plastered with hydraulic cement. A small octagon pavilion, supported by pillars, stands in the point of intersection of the partition walls. The water is pumped up into this reservoir from the Mississippi by plunge-pumps, worked by a condensing engine, acting expansively, on Bolton and Watt's plan, which were adopted because of the great quantity of matter held in suspension by the water, which is very muddy as it flows along. These pumps are

connected with a suction-pipe of 16 inches diameter and about 800 feet long, leading to the river; and with a main-pipe descending into the reservoir, of about the same dimensions. The cylinder is 25 inches diameter, and 6 feet stroke, and the engine can raise 3,000,000 of gallons of water in 24 hours. From hence, after being allowed to deposit its sediment, the water is sent off to the various streets of the city by large main-pipes, and from thence conveyed to the houses by smaller ones. It can be delivered in rooms 21 feet high in every part of the city, and in the lower part 27 feet high; and the daily average consumption of water from this source for the past year, 1838, has exceeded 300,000 tons. There are now laid down, and in use, upwards of 20 miles of pipes; and the sum expended on the works has exceeded a million of dollars.

As New Orleans is a city of great gaiety, from the large number of strangers that visit it, chiefly for pleasure, from all the surrounding country, the theatres occupy a prominent position. Of these there are three—two English, and one French; and in no part of the world, perhaps, are the theatres more generally frequented than here. The oldest of these is the Orleans theatre, in the French quarter, which was opened in 1819, by the first dramatic corps that ever visited Louisiana from France. The building cost 180,000 dollars, besides a suite of ball-rooms for masquerades and fêtes, costing 100,000 more. French plays and operas are given here in great perfection; and the Créole population frequent the theatre almost as much as the Parisians.

The principal English theatre is called the St.

Charles, and is in the American quarter of the city. It was begun on the 9th of May, 1835, and opened on the 30th of November in the same year, though ninety days of continued rain had fallen within that period—such is the dispatch with which it was executed. The whole works were effected at the cost, and under the superintendence, of a single individual, Mr. Caldwell, the proprietor and manager. It has a frontage of 132 feet, and a depth of 175, and cost 350,000 dollars. It has a grand saloon of 129 feet by 26, four tiers of boxes, and an immense gallery, with boudoirs, or retiring-rooms behind forty-seven of its boxes in the lower tier. From the back of the boxes to the curtain is 78 feet, and the breadth across the pit is 71 feet. The stage is 96 feet wide, and 78 feet deep from the orchestra. From the pit to the ceiling is 54 feet, and from the stage to the roof 62 feet. The stage is lighted by a magnificent chandelier, made by Brooks and Hughes, of London, which is 36 feet in circumference, 12 in height, has 23,000 cut-glass drops, weighs 42 cwt., or 4704 lbs., and is illuminated by 176 brilliant gas-lights. Such is the scale, and such the decorations of this theatre; yet, from its being constantly crowded during the season, and especially on Sunday evenings, when all the public places of amusement are thronged, it pays a large profit to its proprietor. Mr. Forrest had an engagement of fifteen nights here during our stay, at 200 dollars per night; and the house was always full.

The Camp-street theatre is much smaller, about the size of the English Haymarket; and this is well

supported also. Another new theatre is projected ; and a company has been chartered by the legislature to effect this object, 25,000 dollars having been already subscribed for this purpose. It is intended to be 232 feet by 100, and 80 in height, and to rival the St. Charles in all the attractions which theatres usually possess.

In addition to the theatrical amusements, operas, ballets, concerts, and balls, which continue without intermission during the winter season, from November to May, masquerades are very frequent. During our stay, there were three in each week, Tuesday, Thursday, and Sunday ; and those who frequented them were usually persons retiring from the theatres at twelve, and remaining at the masquerade till daylight, that on Sunday being always the most thronged.

A New Orleans' Sabbath is, therefore, very different from a New England one ; and the difference of climate between the North and South is not greater than the difference of manners in Boston and New Orleans.

CHAP. XXII.

Population of New Orleans, white and coloured—Créoles; Characteristics of both sexes—American population, classes—General character of the visitors to New Orleans—Instances of assaults and robberies in the city—Religion itself made an amusement—Catholic cathedral—Negro and coloured population of New Orleans—Domestic slaves—Mulattoes and Quadroons, handsome and interesting; beautiful features, fine figures, and fascinating manners.

THE population of New Orleans is at present estimated to be upwards of 100,000; of which it is considered that there are about 50,000 whites, 40,000 negro slaves, and 10,000 free blacks and people of colour. Of the 50,000 whites, it is thought that there are not more than 30,000 permanent residents, 20,000 being visitors, strangers, and a transitory and floating population, constantly changing in individuals, but keeping pretty nearly to the same number in the mass, throughout the business-season. This lasts from November to May; after which New Orleans is drained of a full fourth of its population, who disperse themselves through the north and west for health and pleasure, till the winter returns.

Of the resident population of the city, it is necessary to observe, that they form two very distinct bodies, Créole French, and Northern Americans; and that these are as distinct as the people of any two nations, independently of the several orders or classes into which each of these bodies is again subdivided.

The Créoles, that is, persons of pure white race, without any admixture of Indian or African blood, descended entirely from Spanish or French ancestors, but born in Louisiana, are the most numerous portion of the resident population, amounting to about 20,000 persons. They are almost entirely Roman Catholics in religion, French in language, habits, and manners, but with a mixture of the Spanish chivalry, generosity, and romance, that makes them more frank, open, warm-hearted, and impassioned, than the natives of France, though not more courteous or polite.

The men are generally small, and neither robust nor active, distinguished by no particular traits of character, except it be extreme sensitiveness on points of honour, and readiness to avenge an affront by appeal to arms; duels being much more frequent with them than even with the Americans, and almost always fought with swords till one or other of the combatants fall. There being no order of nobility or privileged class, and no great wealth possessed by individuals, there is a very general equality of condition among them; and though some few of the older inhabitants live on fixed incomes derived from rents, investments in stocks and banks, and the labour of their slaves, yet by far the greatest number are engaged in business or professions, as merchants, shopkeepers, restaurateurs, and artisans, besides engaging in the liberal professions of medicine and the law. They are in general devoid of ambition, and deficient in energy, being content to live a quiet and an easy life, rather than incur the toil, anxiety, and wear and tear of body and mind, which they see

the Americans endure to get rich. They are somewhat lax in their manners, which their religion and colonial origin may sufficiently account for ; but they are upright in their dealings, faithful in all offices of trust, and remarkably docile and manageable with kindness in all subordinate offices as clerks, assistants, &c.

The Créole women are not so pretty as the Americans, but their manners are more interesting. They are of the most delicate and graceful forms, with a roundness and beauty of shape, figure, and tournure, which contrasts very strikingly with the straitness, and regularity of American female figures generally. Their complexions are like those of the women of Italy and the northern shores of the Mediterranean, approaching to brunette, of a rich marble-like smoothness, sometimes suffused with a glow of warmth indicative of the deepest feeling ; large black eyes, full of languor and expression ; jet-black hair, full, soft, and glossy ; exquisite lips and teeth ; and countenances beaming with amiability and tenderness. They combine, in short, the attractions of the women of Cadiz, Naples, and Marseilles ; and notwithstanding the admiration they excite in strangers, they are said to make faithful as well as fond wives and excellent mothers ; except, indeed, that in this last capacity, their love for their children runs into such excess, as to cause them to be too indulgent to them, and thus to injure their future happiness by excessive kindness. French is almost the only language spoken among them ; Spanish but rarely, and English still less. They are extremely polite and well-bred ; and have a readiness, self-possession,

intelligence, and ease and elegance of conversation, which American ladies seldom possess ; bearing, in this respect, the same kind of superiority to the Americans, which the women of France do to those of England, except in the very best circles of society.

The American population of New Orleans is very mixed ; so that it is difficult to give a general character that shall suit the whole. That portion of them who were among the earliest settlers in New Orleans, subsequently to the cession of Louisiana to the United States in 1803, and who have been permanent residents in the city for many years, are among the best specimens of the American people that we had yet seen. They have worn off, by contact with the Créole population, much of the stiffness, formality, and coldness, which characterizes the manners of the New England States, and of Boston especially ; they have acquired much of the ease and polish of the French, and something of the chivalry and generosity of the Spanish ; while a long residence in the sunny South, has both moulded their forms into more elegance and gracefulness, and expanded their ideas and feelings into greater liberality. They have lost that mixture of keenness in driving a bargain, and parsimoniousness in the expenditure of its fruits, as well as that excessive caution in opening themselves to strangers lest they should commit themselves, which is so characteristic of the people of the North. At the same time they retain, in the fullest vigour, the philanthropic spirit, which is also characteristic of the North, and cheerfully give their labour and their money to the formation and support of benevolent institutions of various

kinds, of which New Orleans contains a great number, almost wholly supported by its resident American population.

The visitors or transitory population of New Orleans, amount to at least 20,000 persons at a time; but, from the changes that take place every week, embracing perhaps as many as 100,000 separate individuals during the season, they must be divided into three distinct classes. There are, first, those who come to spend the winter in New Orleans for health and pleasure; secondly, those who come from the North and the West as merchants to transact business; and thirdly, those who come to profit by the large concourse of people, in various schemes of speculation, gambling, and fraud.

Of the first class, it is almost uniformly observed, that a change of residence, even for a few months, produces a wonderful change in their habits and manners, and that for the worse. Many who are even professors of religion, and members or communicants of congregations at their own homes, seem to shake off all regard for early principles, and to become loose in their morals as well as careless in their habits here. Removed from the wholesome restraints of public opinion—which is powerfully exercised in small communities where every member is known to his neighbour—and brought here into the midst of a multitude of strangers where such opinion is scarcely exercised or felt, they gradually throw off all their former habits, and adopt those of a less favourable kind. The distinction between the sabbath and other days of the week, is first broken through; and because the Catholic population of French and

Spanish origin frequent their theatre, and have balls and masquerades on Sundays : the Protestant New Englander, of Puritan descent, forgetting all the maxims of his Pilgrim Fathers, as well as the practice of his youth, frequents the theatre, the ball, and the masquerade on Sundays also. The American theatre of St. Charles, where English plays are alone performed, and where English and American actors appear, is thronged to overflowing every Sunday night, by Northern and Western Americans ; while the masquerade that follows has not a few of the soi-disant religious community of New Englanders to support it by their presence. From the first false step to the second, the descent is soon made. The bar-rooms of the hotels, next become their haunts ; smoking and drinking follows ; a Quadroon mistress, of the class of coloured females with the smallest mixture of African blood, called Quadroons from their being supposed to be four removes from the pure African, is next taken ; and habits of betting, racing, and gambling, crown the whole. Such is the painful history of many a young New Englander coming to New Orleans for health and pleasure ; and returning home a dissipated rake.

The second class are happily not so unfortunate. They are formed of those who come here, with their families, for business during the winter months, and who occupy an intermediate position between the permanent residents and the daily-changing population. Some of these take furnished houses, and have their private homes ; but the greater number live at the best boarding-houses, and at the public hotels ; having an office or counting-house in the business-part

of the city. This class includes persons from all the sections of the Union, but the greater number come from the middle and western States. New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Tennessee, furnish the largest portion. They are occupied as buyers and sellers of cotton and other produce, as well as commission merchants for the purchase and transport into the interior, of European and other manufactured goods.

Of this class it may be said, that they owe much of their virtue to being constantly occupied ; as indeed it may be said of the other class, that they owe much of their vice to their having nothing to do ; so true is the old adage, that "idleness is the parent of mischief," and a most prolific parent indeed. Still, even on the business-class of winter-visitors to New Orleans, a visible change is made in one season of residence ; for, influenced by the contagion of bad example, they relax greatly in the rigour of their home-principles and home-conduct. Many who, in their native city or native state, would not think of any open mark of disrespect to the Sabbath, fall in here readily with the practice of sight-seeing and amusements on Sunday ; and the frequent visits to the theatres and other places of public amusement, added to the daily influence of a hotel life, dining every day at a table with 200 or 300 persons, beget a sort of dissipation, which, if it be not vicious in itself, undoubtedly helps to produce vicious tendencies, and to create a laxity in manners and observances that is calculated, if not carefully guarded against, to sap the foundations of morality.

Absence from home, the gaieties of the place, the sight of all sorts of costly apparel, in dresses, jewellery, and ornaments, the abundance of money, and the influence of rivalry—all beget expensive habits in the females of such families; and having no domestic duties to discharge, or household affairs to superintend, their mornings are devoted to interchange of visits, and shopping. The French and Créole shopkeepers and milliners are so winning and persuasive, and evince so much taste in the arrangement of their beautiful wares, that the largest portion of the husband's or father's gains are often expended in a single season by the ladies of his family, who carry back with them to the interior the purchases of New Orleans, to astonish and excite the envy of those who have remained at home. The single or unmarried gentlemen, having no home but the hotel, and no business-occupation after sunset, resort to the theatre, the masquerade, or the ball; or sometimes frequent the billiard-room, or the bar; and not looking upon New Orleans as their homes, they are all more devoted to mere pleasure, and less scrupulous as to the shape in which it is enjoyed, than in their native cities.

The third class are the worst; and these, unhappily, have given to New Orleans the bad reputation which it possesses. These are composed of speculators, gamblers, sharpers, and ruffians, who throng here during the winter months, to prey upon the unsuspecting. When the season is at an end, they go up the river Mississippi, disperse themselves through the towns of Natchez, Vicksburg, Memphis,

St. Louis, Louisville, and Cincinnati, and lead a similar fraudulent course of life during the summer and autumn, gambling, cheating, and swindling in the steamboats by the way, and playing the bully towards all who venture to take the least notice of their misconduct. This class seems to be formed of the refuse of all the States ; and though they make New Orleans one of their principal haunts in the winter, they no more belong to New Orleans than they do to New York or Philadelphia. It is unjust, therefore, to the permanent inhabitants of the city, to draw the character of New Orleans from the conduct of these miscreants, who are held in the greatest abhorrence and detestation by the native residents themselves.

What is deeply to be regretted is, that the municipal authorities seem to want the moral courage to pursue, apprehend, and punish those among them who are detected in the commission of crime, and in breaches of the peace ; for by the impunity with which the veteran swindlers practise their frauds, others of loose habits and loose morals are seduced to follow their example. Gambling-houses are abundant. Lotteries are drawn almost daily, and the spirit of speculation, swindling, and fraud, is like the "pestilence that walketh at noonday." Duels are frequent, murders far from rare ; and scarcely any of these ruffians go without a bowie knife or pistols, and sometimes both, which they are but too apt to use on the slightest provocation. But many of these things are passed over without notice, either because they are so common, or because persons are afraid to commit themselves by expressing an opinion on them.

I copy, however, three paragraphs of assault and robbery, all happening on the same day, taken from the papers of New Orleans.

“Assault.—A young man named Thomas Philips, from the Steamboat Houma, was assaulted by some scoundrel last evening, just at dark, opposite our office. He was struck twice with a knife on the forehead, making two very deep and dangerous wounds. The watch pursued the villain, but did not succeed in capturing him.”

“Robbery.—A daring robbery was attempted at the Post Office yesterday afternoon about five o'clock. A female inquiring for letters at the 'ladies' window,' was surrounded by four gentleman-looking men, who, as if in carelessness, prevented her going away. At a favourable moment, her pocketbook was seized by one of them, but in so bungling a manner that the thief failed. The lady was then permitted to depart. There must have been several accomplices, for several well-dressed strangers stood about, looking on, and offering no aid. There is little doubt that our city is overrun at present with scoundrels of every degree.”

“Robbery.—On Tuesday last, Mr. Ruple, a gentleman from New York, while walking, about dusk, in the Protestant burial-ground, was suddenly stopped by a fierce vulgar-looking man, who stepped from behind a tombstone into the alley, and demanded his money. Mr. Ruple told him he had none with him, when he was knocked down by a blow from a person behind. He had only sense enough left to perceive that they dragged him to an obscure part of the place. They took away his gold watch; and stunned him afterwards so effectually, that he did not come to his senses fully until about ten o'clock yesterday forenoon. We forbear remarks—the villains who could contemplate such violence in the presence of the tranquil dead, and amid the monuments of the departed, are too deep in the gulf of crime to be described.”

It has been stated that the theatres and masquerades are best attended on Sunday evenings; and the thieves here described form a large portion of

the throng ; in which, it is true, many of the visitors for health, pleasure, and business, also mingle ; but the resident Protestant families, of American origin, who are settled in New Orleans, and have made it their homes, are rarely ever seen in these places of amusement at all, and never on the Sabbath. Not content, however, with the opening of the theatres and masquerades, horse-races and boat-races took place on Sunday while we were in New Orleans, and thousands were collected to witness both ; but two novelties in the way of Sunday exhibitions were produced, of which I copy the announcements from the papers of the day.

*" Sparring !—*For one night only. James Phelan, of New York, respectfully informs the gentlemen of New Orleans, that at the request of his friends, he will give an exhibition of Pugilism on SUNDAY evening, April 14th, 1839, at the Tremont House, next door to the St. Charles Theatre, when he will be assisted by four celebrated professors, who have lately arrived in the city. In the course of the evening, Mr. Phelan will be ready to set-to with any gentleman that may offer, independent of weight or strength. Sparring to commence at eight o'clock. Tickets one dollar, to be had at the bar.— N.B. Mr. Phelan stands open to fight any man of his weight for five hundred dollars, to take place in two weeks, not more than ten miles from the city. His money will be ready this evening."

*" Something New :—Balloon-race.—*By the True American of yesterday, we see that a couple of balloons are to be started this afternoon (SUNDAY) from Proctor's Cottage, at the termination of the Nashville railroad. They are to be cut loose on the arrival of the two-o'clock cars ; and those who can enjoy a pleasant ride, and wish to bet 'a little something,' which balloon will go up the fastest, get up first, stay up longest, and come down quickest, will take this jaunt. They do say, that Proctor has everything as it should be about him at the Cottage."

Even religion itself is made matter of show and spectacle, and people are invited by the newspapers to go to the Catholic cathedral on particular occasions, just as they would go to a play. A high-mass is regarded as a great attraction, and Easter Sunday as something like the benefit-night of a popular actor. The following paragraph is from a New Orleans paper, conducted by an American Protestant editor, not by a French Catholic, and circulating wholly among the American and not the Créole population.

“Don't fail to go to the Cathedral to-day. Between twenty and thirty of our most distinguished and fashionable Créoles are to chant a Grand Mass, composed by that inimitable musician, Eugene Prevost, of the French theatre. To-day is Dimanche Pâque—the end of Lent, and a joyful period among the Catholics. The Cathedral will be crowded with the most gorgeous beauties in the United States. You will see none of them in the mourning we spoke of a day or two ago. All is laid aside now, and these beautiful creatures will come out in all the fashion and taste that so distinguish the women of this delightful city. The weather is fine, too—just cool enough—just warm enough; and the music will be superb. Besides the ladies we have spoken of, there will be Bailly, Welsch, Coeuriot, Heymann, Chazotte, and several other artists from the Theatre d'Orleans. Go early—the Mass commences at nine o'clock, and at *that* time you won't be able to find a standing-place, even.”

I was not among the number of those who adopted this advice, and cannot therefore speak personally as to the accuracy of the following picture; but as a very large number of visitors went from our hotel, and gave us their accounts of the crowd, I have no doubt it was thronged to excess; and with as many Protestant lookers-on as Catholic devotees. The following is the American editor's account of the affair—

“ At the Cathedral on Sunday, the music was superb—and *such* a crowd!—there wasn’t room for a man to take snuff; *and a little yellow dog was so squeezed that he couldn’t bark.* We stood in a place about the size of a wash-basin, and couldn’t turn round. There we were for three hours—but the beautiful women and fine music, the chaunts and the sermon, made amends for all. One gentleman used his opera-glass about half the time—wonder if he saw heaven—wonder if he thought he was *distingué*—wonder if he was even decent. Seriously, we think this latter was an insult to the religious world. An opera-glass in a Cathedral! Why, it wouldn’t have been tolerated in the most infidel days of France.”

Among the white population of New Orleans there is the same love of military display which is seen in many of the cities of the North, somewhat increased perhaps by the infusion of the French love of arms, with the American’s fondness for military parade. This is nurtured and kept alive by two circumstances. The first of these is the proximity of the battle-ground on which General Jackson defeated the British under Sir Edward Packenham, when nearly three thousand of the English were killed and wounded, and the Americans lost only eight men. Frequent visits to this spot by the inhabitants, keep alive the ardour of the military spirit by the recollection of this signal triumph. Secondly, the devotion of the Sunday in each week to military parades; all the various troops and companies of militia and volunteers being out in full uniform on the morning of that day; and the drums, trumpets, and bugles, marching and countermarching of battalions, turning the whole city into a vast Champ de Mars, again making the resemblance of New Orleans to Paris very striking, especially on this day.

The negro and coloured population are here, as everywhere else throughout the United States, the

proscribed class. On the whole, however, they are better off at New Orleans than in the cities of the North. The climate alone makes a large addition to their enjoyments, or saves them a great deal of suffering; and then, the love of ease, which characterizes the slaves themselves, is equally characteristic of those in whose service they may be; so that as domestics and personal attendants, their labour is light, they are well fed, well clad, and do almost as they please, within the limits of reasonable service. The masters and mistresses of slaves leave much more to their management than is ever confided to the free servants of England. The slaves make purchases, as well as sales, for their owners, and by various little pilferings on each, get enough to dress very smartly, of which they are extravagantly fond. Some are let out to hire, on condition of bringing home a certain portion of wages to their masters, and these are said to accumulate property, though of course very slowly. But since the owner cannot threaten an indolent or unfaithful slave with turning him away, as a master can do with a free servant if he displeases him; and as punishing in any other way only makes the slave worse, the owner is without a remedy. The slave, knowing this, takes care to do as little as possible, and not to be very anxious about the quality any more than about the quantity of his labour.

Some of the laws of Louisiana respecting slaves, are also humane and considerate. No master can sell the parents and children separately, till the latter are more than twelve years of age. A slave who is ill-treated can make a representation of his case before the local tribunal of judges; and in the event of the facts being proved on reasonable testi-

mony—the evidence of slaves being taken in such cases—the master is compelled by law to sell the slave to another owner. Still, though there are many causes to make the situation of the domestic slave in New Orleans happier than in some other States, I could see nothing, even in their improved condition, to reconcile me to the glaring injustice towards the slave, of taking from him the fair produce of that labour, the full fruits of which every man should be allowed to reap as his own; nor any thing to change my opinion as to the injurious effects of this system towards the master as well as the slave. The system of slavery compels him to lay out a large amount of capital in the purchase of a labour which he may never realize, as sickness, death, and desertion may deprive him of all; but the labour which he thus buys, at so high an outlay, even when he gets it, is always of the most stinted kind in quantity, the most unskilful in quality, the most grudgingly bestowed, and the most unprofitable in its issue.

The free blacks are already numerous, and fast increasing, by multiplication from their own stock, as all the children of free mothers are themselves free. Add to this, there is a large number of brown or mulatto persons, of mixed European and African blood, usually called “coloured people.” Of these, it may be said, that they are handsome, interesting, intelligent, and agreeable, in proportion to the distance at which they are removed from the original African stock. The first remove, formed by a white father and black mother, and called mulattoes, have dark-brown skins, and crisp,

though bushy hair, with all the broadness and flatness of the African features, scarcely diminished. The next remove, formed by a white father and mulatto mother, and called brown, or yellow, as either shade predominates, begins to be good-looking, with olive complexions, like the darkest of the European Spaniards—black eyes and hair, and prominent features, small limbs, delicate hands and feet, and graceful figures. The third remove, or meztisoës, approaches still nearer to the European or American stock, in all these particulars. And the fourth remove, or the quadroons, as they are called, furnish some of the most beautiful women that can be seen, resembling, in many respects, the higher order of women among the Hindoos, with lovely countenances, full dark liquid eyes, lips of coral and teeth of pearl, long raven locks of soft and glossy hair, sylph-like figures, and such beautifully-rounded limbs, and exquisite gait and manner, that they might furnish models for a Venus or a Hebe to the chisel of the sculptor. One of the most beautiful specimens of this feminine beauty, is exhibited as a sign, in a large full-length picture in oils, over the door of a milliner's establishment at the corner of Rue de Toulouse and Rue Royale; the one view representing the lady in her "costume de promenade," the other in her "costume du bal;" and inscribed, after the manner of similar signs in Paris, "A la belle Créole." I remember a very similar one, indeed, in one of the streets of the French capital, "A la belle Circassienne," under a figure of exquisite beauty, embodying the *beautiful* of female loveliness in the Oriental form.

CHAP. XXIV.

Public undertakings and improvements—Works of utility, instruction, and benevolence—Lands reclaimed from the river—Railroads and canals—Colleges, schools, interesting Female Academy—Asylum for male and female orphans—Literary institutions—Historical Society of Louisiana—Commercial Library Society—Medical board—Climate and health of New Orleans and its vicinity—Season of epidemics—Liability of strangers to disease—Superiority of New Orleans to most cities of the Union. •

I HAVE said that the permanent residents of New Orleans are not inferior to those of any other part of the United States, in the promotion and encouragement (according to their means, and in proportion to the recent date of their annexation to the Union, and the small number of their fixed population) of works of utility, instruction, and benevolence; and this will best be proved by a brief enumeration of a few of such undertakings of each class.

For the promotion of works of utility, there was established in 1833, a Public Board of Works, authorized by a law of the State, making them a corporate body. Their funds are supplied by grants from the State, legacies and donations from individuals, and 20,000 dollars from sales of auction-licenses. They had received, up to the end of 1838, nearly 400,000 dollars, and have a property on hand, amounting to about 200,000 dollars. By judicious management and expenditure, they have opened

several rivers, canals, and water-courses, made and improved many roads, and reclaimed from the river's banks for cultivation, nearly 1,000,000 of acres of land, from the sale of which, future funds for improvement will be supplied.

Of improvements effected by other companies, the following may be named. The Pontchartrain railroad was the second in point of date, completed within the United States, going to and from the city and the lake; and from the date of this, to the present time, at least twenty other railroads and branches have been constructed or are in progress. One of these, the New Orleans and Nashville railroad, will be 564 miles long, and cost 10,000,000 dollars. Of canals there are also several of great utility, connecting various branches of rivers, and adding much to the facility of transporting the products of the soil to market. A large portion of the city has been also lighted with gas, though in some parts of the French quarter, they adhere to the old Parisian practice of hanging large glass lamps on a rope, suspended from pole to pole, and overhanging the centre of the street, fed with oil, and giving out a miserably dim and faint glimmer of "darkness visible" on all sides round.

In provision for education, Louisiana cannot be expected to compete with the older, more populous, and more opulent States of Massachusetts and New York; but it is advanced beyond many States older than itself, and is still advancing. In 1833, by a law of the local legislature, the Secretary of State was made "Superintendent of Education throughout the State," and the same act provided for the

appropriation of funds to the support of public schools in each parish, according to the number of their inhabitants. In addition to this provision for the Common Schools of the parishes, the following institutions of education already exist, and are in full operation.

The College of Louisiana, at Jackson, in East Feliciana, incorporated in 1825, with an appropriation of 5,000 dollars annually from the State, on condition that fifteen students, to be nominated by the governor, shall be educated gratis annually; and the rest on moderate terms. Jefferson College, near the coast, in the parish of St. James's, incorporated in 1831, with a noble edifice on the banks of the Mississippi, endowed also by the State, and having many students. Franklin College, at Opelousas, incorporated in 1831, and endowed by the State, with ample appropriation. Centre and Primary Schools exist also in the city of New Orleans, which have an annual appropriation of 10,000 dollars for their support.

In addition to these institutions, which are all under the patronage of the State, there are several private establishments for education. The Ursuline Nuns, in their convent, now removed a few miles below the city—as their valuable property within the city was recently sold at a greatly increased value, for the benefit of their funds—have a boarding and day school for young ladies, which is accounted one of the best in the State. The Sisters of Charity have also a large establishment for young ladies, in the parish of St. James's, where everything required is taught with great ability. In the convent of Opelousas is another excellent Female School; and the

Jesuits have an extensive establishment at the same place for the education of boys, which is conducted by ten professors and teachers from France. These are of course all Catholic schools, though many Protestants have their children taught at them, from the great attention bestowed on the pupils, and their advancement in every branch of learning.

There is, however, one Protestant Female Academy recently established in New Orleans, the history of which is peculiarly interesting. A young American gentleman, of religious disposition, married the daughter of a Scotch merchant here ; and after their marriage, which was one of pure affection, the father bestowed on his daughter a handsome fortune. Soon after their marriage-union, the young lady died ; and as the husband had not married her for her wealth, he signified to the father that it was not his intention to use it, but caused it to be transferred back to her parents. This the father refused to accept, saying it was the husband's, by right of marriage, and should remain in his possession. The contest, at length was ended by this honourable compromise. Neither would consent to accept the sum, which was considerable, amounting to 50,000 dollars. The young widower, therefore, purchased with it a piece of ground, built a Female Academy for the education of Protestant Young Ladies, endowed it with an annual income, and called it, after the maiden name of his beloved and departed wife, " The M'Ghee Female Academy." I confess that I looked on this building with feelings of peculiar pleasure, and with great veneration for its amiable and pious founder.

Among the works of benevolence, besides those

enumerated under the heads of the Charity Hospital, Asylum, Franklin Hospital, and others, in a former chapter, there is an Orphan Asylum for boys, and one for girls, each containing from 150 to 200 inmates, and, as far as we could judge from our visits to each, both were admirably managed. The Boys' Asylum, is in the upper part of the city, near Lafayette, and not far from the Levée or bank of the Mississippi. The house now occupied was formerly a sugar-house, and the surrounding land a sugar-plantation, about two miles removed from the outskirts of the old city. The land was purchased a few years since for 7,000 dollars ; but such has been the increased value of property, from the gradual growth of the city towards this spot, that the same land is now worth 200,000 dollars ; and will, accordingly, soon be sold, for the purpose of purchasing a more eligible spot, farther removed from the city, and erecting a suitable edifice, with every requisite and every modern improvement. The institution was first commenced by the efforts of a few individuals, who struggled through many difficulties to sustain it ; but it is now happily free from them all. Very recently, an old Scotch settler here, named Henderson, who was formerly a steward in the household of the Duke of Gordon, found his way to New Orleans, and in a residence of nearly forty years amassing considerable property, left, at his death, the greater part of it, amounting to £50,000 sterling, to the support of the Orphan Asylum. Since that time another Scotchman, named Milne, died in New Orleans, and left 50,000 dollars to the same institution ; so that with these, and the increased value of their land, they will be

placed above all further need of aid, and so extend their sphere of operations, as to leave no male orphans in the State unprovided for.

There is also an Orphan Asylum for Female Children, situated nearly in the centre of the American quarter, in Poydras-street. It was founded in the year 1817, by a few ladies, who, from their private subscriptions, began the care of a few orphan girls ; and, soliciting subscriptions from time to time, from others, they increased their numbers as their means augmented. A very benevolent French Créole, named Julien Poydras, made them several handsome donations during his life, and at his death left them several small properties in land, in various parts of the city, the constantly-increasing value of which will furnish a large source of revenue. More recently, the same wealthy Scotchmen, Mr. Henderson and Mr. Milne, who, at their death, endowed the Male Orphan Asylum so munificently, included this Female Asylum in their bequests, and left equal sums to those bestowed on the other. At present, therefore, the wealth of the Institution is considerable, and an edifice is about to be erected, which will provide ample accommodation for all the female orphans that the State may contain. There are already about 150 children, from three to fifteen years of age, who are supported, clad, educated, and well-trained, free of all expense to themselves, and fitted to obtain their own livings in various ways.

Besides these there is a New Orleans' St. Andrew's Society, for the relief of destitute natives of Scotland ; an Hibernian Society for the relief of destitute natives of Ireland ; an Hibernian Universal Bene-

volent Society, which takes a still wider range in the objects of its bounty ; a Roman Catholic Association for the relief of Male Orphans, conducted by the Bishop and Clergy of that faith ; and a St. Patrick's Female Orphan Asylum, conducted by the Sisters of Charity of the same Church. There are also several Masonic Lodges, Mechanics' Societies, Fire-men's Charitable Associations, and other bodies founded on the principle of mutual relief in time of sickness and distress.

Of the Literary Institutions of New Orleans, there are not many to record. In these, however, a beginning has been made, and this is always something in so new a country.

The first of these is the Historical Society of Louisiana, established in the year 1835 ; its object being to collect all the facts and documents connected with the history of the Colony and State from the earliest times, to embody these in printed transactions, and to make them the subject of periodical meetings and public discourses.

Next to this is the 'New Orleans' Commercial Library Society, founded in 1831, which possesses at present a collection exceeding 5,000 volumes, and this is increasing every year.

There is an Agricultural Society, incorporated in 1833, for the collection of information, and trial of experiments, relative to the growth and improvement of all the agricultural, horticultural, and botanical productions of the State. This, if well directed, can hardly fail to be productive of great benefit, and the collection of much valuable and interesting information.

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There is a Medical Board of Louisiana, and a Medical College, the latter founded originally by the private enterprise of the leading Physicians, but since incorporated and endowed by the State, and authorized to confer degrees after appropriate examinations. Its Faculty consists of seven Professors of the different branches of Medical Science and Practice; and its lectures are attended by a large number of students.

From the mention of the Medical College, the transition is very natural to the climate and health of New Orleans. On this subject there seems to have been great misconception abroad; for, throughout the United States, and almost everywhere in Europe, New Orleans is considered as a great charnel-house or grave, that engulphs the larger portion of those who visit it. The facts, however, seem to be these. In point of climate, New Orleans may be considered as agreeable, in the whole, as any part of the Union. Its winters are mild, and its spring is delicious. I never remember, in the finest days in the Mediterranean, nor in the brightest days of May and June in England, more lovely weather than we enjoyed in New Orleans during March and April, the thermometer ranging from 60° to 75°, a fresh breeze generally through the day, a cool air and refreshing showers at night, and a balminess and perfume in the air, from the opening of all the flowering trees and shrubs, which was perfectly delicious. The summer, though longer in duration, beginning on the 1st of May and continuing till the 1st of November, is not hotter than the months of June, July, and August, in New York, Boston, or Quebec. Indeed,

many who went last year to the North for change of air, and pleasure, found it much hotter at Saratoga than they had ever felt it in New Orleans; and in Philadelphia and Albany, as we ourselves experienced, the heat was excessive in June.

At New Orleans, the nights are almost always cool, and a pleasant breeze blows generally throughout the day. About two hours after midnight, the air becomes so much colder, as to require the use of a blanket; and persons who are cautious to guard against the sudden changes of climate, take care always to have one at the foot of the bed in the hottest weather, to provide against the vicissitude. The rainy season is in the winter, but New Orleans is then perfectly healthy to all parties. In the summer heats, strangers, who expose themselves, get affected with fevers; but it is not until the middle of July or August that there is danger to the stranger from remaining in the city. At that time it is prudent that he should retire, if able to do so, for a short period; but this need not be far, because, in the very hottest weather, a passage to the northern shore of Lake Pontchartrain, about 30 miles across, where many pretty villas of the merchants and others are built, or a visit to Biloxi, Mobile, or Pensacola, all healthy stations, is as good a preservative against the liability to fever, as a removal to the extremest point of the Union. The Créoles remain all the year round, and the Americans who are acclimated by one or two summers, stay without danger; while the medical men, the clergy, the public officers of government, and the great bulk of the inhabitants, are stationary throughout the year. The yellow fever

sometimes comes as an epidemic, and sweeps off hundreds without distinction, and the cholera made sad havoc here a few years since ; but this is not a proof of the general unhealthiness of New Orleans, any more than it is of Bombay, Madras, or Calcutta ; with which, perhaps, in this respect, New Orleans may be fairly compared.

Among the statistics of health, as compiled by Dr. Barton, one of the professors of the Medical College, it is shown that there is no portion of America where the mortality of the native and acclimated population is less than in Louisiana ; and the following tabular statement will give a view of the number of children compared to adults, of aged people above 70 compared to younger, and of those over 100 years.

Proportion of Children to Inhabitants.

In Pennsylvania	1 in 322	In Massachusetts	in 395
Louisiana .	1 „ 355	New Orleans	„ 396
Baltimore .	1 „ 368	Philadelphia	„ 434
New York .	1 „ 388	Boston . .	„ 435

Aged Persons above 70, to Inhabitants.

● In New York	in 3,533	In Philadelphia	1 in 2,487
Boston .	„ 3,161	New Orleans	1 „ 2,486
Baltimore	„ 2,573		

Persons above 100 years, to Inhabitants.

In Boston . .	1 in 61,392	In N. Carolina .	1 in 2,081
Massachusetts	1 „ 10,517	Louisiana .	1 „ 1,608
Pennsylvania	1 „ 9,765	New York .	1 „ 1,570
Philadelphia	1 „ 3,094	Baltimore .	1 „ 1,300
S. Carolina	1 „ 2,441	New Orleans .	1 „ 997
Charleston	1 „ 2,329		

The superior longevity of New Orleans to all the other places named, is sufficiently shown by these

tables ; and this accords with the experience and knowledge of professional men and residents, especially among the persons born and brought up here from their infancy. It is said that the average mortality of New Orleans, in ordinary years, is about 3,800, out of a population of upwards of 100,000, or about four per cent of the whole ; and of these, one fourth, at least, die in the Charity Hospital, a large number from intemperance, and consequent disease and destitution. It is believed that about 500 strangers die every year in passing through the acclimating process ; but the greatest number of these might be saved by proper precautions taken in time, and an adaptation of diet and mode of life to the changes of the season. Of pulmonary diseases, there are not more than one in fifty die in New Orleans, while to the North there are one in five or six, besides those who linger for years under this terrible affliction.

CHAP. XXV.

Newspapers of New Orleans—Examples of style and subject—
Vexations of editors—Invitations of presents—Extravaganzas
—Specimens of bombast—Uniformity of their opposition to the
Abolitionists—Precautions to prevent the combination of slaves
—Law prohibiting the residence of any free negro in the State.
Contradictions of facts to assertions, on the subject of Slavery.
Texas—New republic—Recent accounts.

THERE are no less than eight daily newspapers in New Orleans, as many, nearly, as in London; but they have each a separate character, and are, in the whole, less efficient as organs of public opinion, and exercise less influence on the community, than any I have met with in the large cities of the United States.

The New Orleans Bee is the largest of the number; and, as far as my recollection goes, is the largest daily paper in the world; its pages spreading over considerably more space than any single sheet of the Times or Morning Chronicle. It is as heavy in its composition as it is unwieldy in its form. It was recently a Democratic paper, and was purchased by the friends of Mr. Clay, who have made it a Whig organ; so that it has all the awkwardness and embarrassment arising from an endeavour to retain its old readers, and yet please its new, by perpetual trimming and compromising. It has therefore fallen

into the contempt which justly awaits all renegades, and especially renegades for profit. It is so proverbially heavy, that a witticism in it is a rarity. Now and then, however, it aspires to a joke, of which one example may be given. The first of the two following paragraphs originated in one of the New York papers, and went the round of the New Orleans press. Major Noah, the editor of the New York paper in which it first appeared, is the person who proposed to build the city of Ararat, and to collect all the scattered members of the Hebrew nation on Grand Island near Niagara. He has the ambition of being thought one of the wittiest paragraph-writers of the day, and he penned this, in the Bee; but he soon after received the retort courteous, as seen in the second paragraph below.

“Love of Newspapers.—‘Father, give me the New Orleans Bee.’ ‘Why the Bee, my son?’ ‘Because it is the biggest paper in the world, and capital to make kites with.’—*New York Star.*

“A Jewish Joke.—‘Father, give me the New York Star.’ ‘Why the Star, daughter?’ ‘Because I like to read the old jokes that Noah brought out of the ark with him after the deluge.’—*New Orleans Bee.*

One half of this paper is printed in English and the other half in French, and all the advertisements appear in the two languages, so as to adapt it to circulation in both quarters of the city. The Louisianian, and the Louisiana Advertiser, both morning papers, as well as the Courier, the only evening paper, are also published in French and English, with separate editors for each department. These last have no particularly distinguishing features, except that the Courier is the most moderate, gentlemanly, and

fair, and is read chiefly by the Créoles, while the two others have a strong tincture of the American spirit of partisanship. These are all published in the French quarter of the city.

In the American quarter, there are five daily papers published wholly in English. The first, in size, circulation, and character, is the Commercial Bulletin, which is read by all parties, and being celebrated for the fulness and accuracy of its commercial information, and the fairness and moderation of its political strictures, is the paper of the greatest influence in the city and in the State. The True American is no honour to its name; being remarkable for its virulence, bad spirit, and utter disregard of principle and consistency, when a vindictive passion is to be gratified or an end to be accomplished. The three others are small sheets called "Penny Papers," though this is certainly a misnomer, as no copper coins of any kind circulate in New Orleans. The lowest denomination of money is a picayune, or six-and-a-quarter cents, equivalent to about threepence sterling, and nearly equal in size to our silver four-penny pieces in England, being indeed the sixteenth part of a dollar. This is the price of all these penny papers; the larger sheets, without stamp, and so filled with advertisements as rarely to contain more than three columns of reading matter, are sold for 12½ cents, or nearly sevenpence sterling; while in advertising, nothing is inserted under a dollar, and all the prices of printing are much higher than in the northern cities of the Union.

The three small papers are the Picayune, the Times, and the Sun, and these content themselves

with the slightest sprinkling of news, filling up their very limited space with all manner of puffs, jokes, and extravaganzas, the only object of the editors being to render their papers amusing, and to cater for the public taste of the transient population of visitors. They cannot be so well described as by giving an example or two of their contents.

One of the most frequent topics of complaint, in the paragraphs of these papers, is the nonpayment of bills; another is the troubles or vexations of editors; and a third is the offer of broad hints as to the duty of their readers to send them presents of various kinds. Here are a few examples of each, all taken from the papers of New Orleans for April.

"Pity the Sorrows of—an Editor.—The editor of the Thibodauxville Intelligencer, in his number of the 5th, breaks forth in the following dolorous strain:—'We are now out of money, out of paper, and ink. We work hard for what little we do earn, and it is no more than right that our bills should be paid as promptly as a storekeeper's or a mechanic's. Next to being sued, we dislike suing; but unless we get our just dues soon, there will be some law-expenses to pay by somebody.'"

"Blue Devils.—If our paper seems dull to any of our readers, they will please lay it to the blue devils. We had about fourteen to support yesterday, as blue as indigo. The chap that we imagined was sawing our nose, bothered us the most—the others were inferior imps, and were not important."

"Worthy of Imitation.—The tailors of Buffalo have presented an editor of that city with a suit of clothes. Those of the so-so (*sew-sew*) profession in New Orleans, should 'go and do likewise'—for ourselves, we are sadly 'out at elbows'—and, as to the other portions of our dress, which extreme modesty prevents us mentioning anything of, they would put to the blush the most humble knight of the shears in this city."

"Bottled Porter.—What's become of the porter that one of our good friends was intending to send us? The weather is getting first-rate for a glass or two now."

As to the extravaganzas, each editor seems to vie with the other as to which shall compile or invent the most absurd. Here are a few only of this description.

"A Tall Man."—There is a man in Kentucky so tall, that it has been agreed to exempt him from all taxes, as he is always out of the country, his head reaching beyond the limits of the terrestrial atmosphere."

"An Irish Giant.—There is a man in Ireland so large, that it takes him two days to wake up all over."

"A Red Head.—There is a man in this city whose head is so red, that he has discontinued the use of gas in his store, and now sells goods, keeps books, and performs his counting-house duties in the evening, by the light which his hair throws around. This is a great benefit—it saves a good deal, and the gentleman should endeavour to leave it as an *hair-loom* to his children."

"Loose Shirts.—A Philadelphia editor remarks, to show the manner in which they make shirts in that city, that he had some made a few weeks ago, and after putting on one at night, he found himself next morning crawling out *between two of the stitches*."

"Cure for Rheumatism.—The Boston Post says, a rheumatic correspondent is anxious to find a remedy for his malady, and has applied to us for aid. We know of but one remedy for rheumatism, and that was told us by a physician. It is this: close all the outer doors of a four-story house, open all the inner ones; then take a long switch, and chase a cat up stairs and down, till she sweats—pussy-perspiration is an infallible cure."

Their serious paragraphs, that is, those which are written without any intention of being ridiculous, are often as absurd as those which are manufactured for the purpose of exciting a laugh. As examples,

the two following will suffice ; the one, being an appeal to the planters of Darien in Georgia, to arm themselves and go forth against the Florida Indians on their southern frontier ; and the other, a farewell benediction on a public dancer at the New Orleans Opera.

“ *To Arms!*—Hannibal passed the Alps—Cæsar crossed the Rubicon—Napoleon forced the Bridge of Lodi—and why not the farmers and merchants of Darien cover themselves with glory, by wallowing in the bogs of the Okefenokee?”

“ *Farewell!*—Augusta, that queen of the air, since she seems to touch earth only in pastime, leaves us to-day in the steamboat Norma. Like a brilliant meteor, she glowed among us for a moment, and disappeared, leaving a bright train of glory. Too quickly gone—too suddenly vanished—yet she lives in the hearts of thousands. We shall never ‘look upon her like again.’ May the softest sun, the bluest skies, be over thee, thou *found Pleiad*, through whatsoever clime fate calls thee to wander!”

These two paragraphs are fair specimens of the kind of “fine writing” which is acceptable to the American taste in general, and particularly in the South, where the florid, the overstrained, the high-sounding, and the pompous, are the styles most highly relished.

Of course all the newspapers of New Orleans are fierce denouncers of the Abolitionists ; and here, as elsewhere, the more democratic the papers are in their general politics, the more indignant are they at all attempts to make their coloured brethren as free as themselves.

In no part of the South that we had yet visited do the whites seem to be in greater dread of the rising of the slaves, than here in Louisiana. It is

said, indeed, that on the sugar-plantations they are more severely worked than anywhere else ; and that the floggings of the indolent and refractory are cruel and severe, especially among the French and Cr  ole planters. In New Orleans, as before remarked, the condition of the slaves is far from being miserable ; they are upon the whole as well fed, better clad, and have much more leisure and less severe labour than the Irish peasant or the English hand-loom weaver. Many of them, too, have a great command of their time, and accumulate, by degrees, actual property, which indulgent owners allow them to enjoy ; though, according to the strict letter of the law, all that a slave has or earns, or obtains by gift or any other mode, is his master's, and may be taken from him, but this is rarely done. Yet even here, under this most favourable state of things for the slave, the whites are afraid of their combinations to break the yoke of subjection under which they lie, and free themselves from their servitude.

At nine o'clock, a large cannon, fired from the centre of Lafayette Square, tells the slaves in all parts of the city that they must be in their homes, under pain of apprehension, imprisonment, and other punishment, according to the circumstances of the case. The law also enjoins that no free black shall remain in the State, though this law is not put in force ; and no freedom can be given to any slave within the State, but on condition of his quitting it for ever, though this also is not rigorously enforced. Indeed, an article was published in the Commercial Bulletin, of March 20, pointing out the danger to the peace of the city in allowing any free blacks to

remain in it, and calling upon the municipal authorities no longer to neglect the execution of the law which enjoined their banishment from the State for ever. The meaning of this is, that they are afraid the free blacks will inoculate the slaves with a love of freedom, and excite their desire to enjoy it for themselves; and yet, in the very same breath in which they proclaim the danger of familiarizing the slave too much with freedom, lest he should become enamoured of it and seek it for himself, the newspapers and the white inhabitants tell you, with the utmost coolness, "that the slaves would not accept their freedom if it were offered; that the free blacks are more wretchedly off than the slaves; and that the instances are numerous, in which slaves, having been made free, have intreated to be allowed to return to their bondage again." I confess, however, that after the most diligent inquiry, I could never discover any well-authenticated instance of this; while, on the other hand, I saw everywhere around me proofs, that freedom was anxiously desired by the slaves; that it was often given to them as a reward, and was sometimes purchased by their scraping together the hard earnings of many a long and weary year of extra toil beyond the hours exacted by the master; while the advertisements of the public prints, continually exhibit the offer of rewards for runaway slaves, on their being apprehended and lodged in jail to be restored to their owners! Such are the contradictions which facts oppose to the assertions above alluded to.

A very lively interest is felt among all classes here, in the future prospects of the neighbouring republic of Texas; and the intercourse between it

and New Orleans being maintained by steam-vessels, that arrive and depart almost daily, the newspapers contain repeated notices of everything that is passing in this new and rising country. I had an opportunity of seeing several persons who had recently arrived from thence ; and there was great uniformity of opinion as to its speedily overcoming all its difficulties, and attaining to great importance in a comparatively short space of time. The first mode of its occupation, and the character of the first settlers by which the independence of Mexico was declared, are admitted by most candid persons to have been highly objectionable ; and the fact of its having been for some time a refuge for the abandoned and profligate, as well as for the destitute, no one denies. But of late, there has been an infusion of a much better class of people ; and while many of the first settlers have been killed in the wars with the Mexicans, and a large number have paid the ordinary debt of nature, their places are supplied by a very superior race, persons of capital and character, who go from all parts of the United States, to purchase land, and become citizens of the new republic. For a long time, the Texians were anxious to have their territory annexed, as a new State, to the great American Union ; and this would have been easily effected, but for the fact that slavery was considered a part of its lawful and acknowledged institutions, though the Mexicans had abolished slavery in their republic ; and this fact arrayed the feelings of the Free States of the North against the admission of a new Slave State into the general Confederation. The Texians, on the other hand, would not consent to prohibit slavery, as a

condition of their admission ; as this, they conceived, would check the tide of immigration into their territory, where planters were chiefly induced to come, because, by the labour of their slaves brought with them, they could put their purchased land under immediate cultivation, and speedily realize a handsome fortune.

At present, all desire of admission into the American Union has ceased ; and the Texians have resolved to be and remain an independent republic. They have overcome all risk of subjugation by the Mexicans, who are indeed too much torn by internal struggles and civil dissensions to be able to give a thought to any exterior object. Harassed by a foreign foe from without, by whom their principal seaport of Vera Cruz has been blockaded and captured, and their chief fortress of St. Juan D'Ulloa nearly destroyed, and at the same time divided by two contending parties among themselves, the Federalists and the Centralists in arms against each other, thus working out daily their own destruction, the Texians are perfectly safe from further Mexican interference, and are wisely profiting by this circumstance to build up the republic in peace ; while their finances are improving, their commerce reviving, their settlers increasing, and all the elements of prosperity are in full and active operation for good. The following is from a New Orleans paper of April, 1839, and its accuracy was confirmed to me by persons recently from the spot.

“ *Texas*.—The following is extracted from a letter received by us from a gentleman in Houston, under date of the 26th inst. ‘Little thought I in 1836, that in the space of three years, Texas would be what she now is. The prosperity of the country has

far exceeded my anticipations. The new seat of government will be located near the Falls of the Brazos, at the town of Milam, and in the neighbourhood of the 'Caddo Springs.' I have resided in Houston nearly two years—I saw its commencement—noticed its gradual progress, and, as a result, assure you that it now assumes the appearance of a city. There are between four and five hundred houses, all filled with busy and enterprising people. Galveston Island, Velasco, and Matagorda have also much improved. Brazoria and Columba appear to be at a stand, and yet they are situated in the centre of a rich and populous country—they must certainly 'come out.'"

What is more gratifying, however, than even this account of its rising prosperity in population and wealth, is the assurance which is given by all persons coming from thence, of the efforts made, and still making, to purify it from the old leaven of its first settlers, in the spirit of profligacy and vice, in various shapes, with which they had infected it. The following is believed to be a perfectly accurate picture of the present state of things in this respect, taken from a New Orleans paper of April, and I give it the more readily in this shape, because it breathes an excellent spirit, and presents a redeeming feature to much of the frivolity of the Southern press.

"*Texas.*—It cannot but be gratifying to the numerous friends of this country, to learn that very general and strenuous efforts are being made to root out the destructive and detestable vice of gambling. Public meetings have been called in Galveston and Houston, to consider the proper and effectual means to put it down, and rid the country of those who make a profession of it. We do not yet know the results of any of those deliberations, but look for them by the next boats—they will, no doubt, furnish still brighter proofs of the advancement of this republic in morals, as well as in the true policy of their government. We

are glad to see her at so early an hour striking at the root of that venomous plant, which, if it be suffered to grow, will overshadow that land, as it already has many others with a blighting influence. Now is the only time to do it with effect—when this sickening weed is yet tender and frail, and before the mighty energies of a growing people are enervated either by luxury, or that laxity of principle, which abundance and ready wealth ever carries in its train.

“Texas will find her account in these efforts if they be successful—that they can be made so we have no doubt,—but true patriotism—stern courage, moral force, and a good deal of self-denial must be brought to the task. To root out professional gamblers, and destroy their trade, she must go on no halfway principle. If *public* card-tables, *rouge et noir*, and roulette be abolished, there must be an end to *private* whist-tables, and private game-clubs. They must act, for a time at least, on the ‘tee-total’ system. It is to the rising generation that most attention is to be given, since it is for them that most of the benefit arising from the suppression of gambling is of course intended. The people of that country, therefore, must watch with jealous eye over their households—cards must not be seen in the social circle, nor form an item in the amusements of evening parties. Let statesmen, and lawyers, and public-spirited men, attend to the *public* eradication of this vice; but parents and inmates of the *social* domicile must see that the *Dii penates* are not desecrated.

“The moral tone of many of the measures which Texas has adopted, and in which nearly all her worthy citizens, seem quite interested, is beginning to have a very powerful and very excellent effect. The impression once so prevalent throughout the world, that her borders hemmed in a community of unprincipled men, has almost entirely passed away—her people are now looked upon with much favour. The original friends of that new land are strengthened in their devotion to it, and those who were formerly enemies, are either positive in their good words, or at least silent lookers on.”

CHAP. XXVI.

Last day passed in New Orleans—Visit to the Franklin Infirmary—Accommodation, garden and grounds—Museum of natural history—Female Orphan Asylum—Visit to Mademoiselle America Vespucci—History of her early life and education in Italy—Her banishment for political opinions—Proceedings on her memorial to the American Congress—Description of her person, manners, and conversation.

THE last day that we passed in New Orleans, was, upon the whole, one of the most interesting. Soon after breakfast, we accompanied the lady of Dr. Luzenberg, who called for us at the hotel in her carriage, to the hospital, or infirmary, established by her husband, near the Pontchartrain road, where we were met by Dr. Luzenberg himself. The spot on which this hospital stands, was originally a wet marsh, or morass—as, indeed, nearly the whole of the space between the Mississippi and the Lake Pontchartrain still is, though a railroad has been constructed across it from the city to the lake, on wooden piles for the support of the rails. The space intended for the edifice and garden was then purchased by Dr. Luzenberg out of his private means, and being filled up with earth, it was converted into dry land, on which the hospital was built and the garden laid out, and the whole establishment fitted and furnished at his individual expense in the year 1835.

The building is sixty-five feet by fifty-five, two stories in height, and being purposely constructed

for an hospital, under Dr. Luzenberg's eye, it has every convenience and comfort for the accommodation of a hundred patients. A resident physician, with a competent supply of nurses and attendants, is always on the spot, and its founder visits it once and often twice a day; so that many of his private patients, knowing the great attention and comfort received, prefer coming here, when ill, to remaining in the city; and those who receive gratuitous medical attendance and care, are as well and as carefully superintended as the rest.

The surrounding garden is beautiful; and at this season of the year, April 19, when all the trees were in full foliage, and the flowers in their richest bloom, it was peculiarly so. I do not know, indeed, that I ever saw more rich, varied, and beautiful bouquets, than those that were made up in the space of a few minutes, from the flowers all around us, and presented to each. The fine air, pleasant walks, and horticultural amusement and occupation which these grounds afford to the convalescent, make them as useful to health as they are beautiful to the eye.

It is worthy of remark, that though the marsh presses close up to the edge of the garden, no injury to the health of the patients is occasioned thereby. Dr. Luzenberg's opinion, derived from his experience of this climate, was, that marsh lands, when well wooded, and in the neighbourhood of salt water, as this marsh is, are not unfavourable to health; as the woods protect the vegetable undergrowth from the operation of the sun, and no deleterious atmosphere is engendered. But when this wood is removed, and the vegetable productions in the water are exposed

to the heat of the sun, the decomposition and decay of the vegetable matter give out gases of a deleterious nature, and the miasma engenders fevers among those who breathe the contaminated air. In confirmation of the accuracy of this view, it has occurred, that while the yellow fever raged with the greatest violence in New Orleans, no persons living at the Infirmary were affected by it ; and in an interchange of coloured servants that was made between the Doctor's establishment in the city, and the Infirmary, it invariably happened that those who went into the city caught the yellow fever, and those who went to the Infirmary escaped.

Attached to the hospital, was an interesting museum of natural history, commenced by Dr. Luzenberg, particularly in the departments of reptiles and insects peculiar to the country. We had seen a fierce-looking wolf, recently caught in the mountains of Tennessee, now chained up in the garden, and some pretty squirrels from the adjoining woods, in their appropriate revolving cages ; but the collections in the museum were of course all lifeless and preserved. Among them were some specimens of the rattlesnake, taken in this State, from the length of about twelve inches to four and five feet, and from the circumference of an inch and half to three inches. Its rattle, not at all injured by death, is composed of a series of bony or horny cups, like the bones of the vertebræ, but loose in their sockets. These are appended to the extremity of the tail, and terminate the length of the body ; and when the animal is alarmed, or embarrassed, by pursuit or any other cause, it lifts its tail perpendicularly in the air, and shakes it, like

a watchman's rattle, the sound of which it resembles in its nature, though it is less in force or degree. Its fangs, or fatally-wounding teeth, exhibit a remarkable appearance. They descend, to the depth of an inch or more, from the upper jaw, in which they are inserted on either side, like the tusks of the elephant. and are wholly different from the ordinary teeth, with which it consumes its food ; for while these last are perpendicular to the gums, the former incline backward and inward, in a rounded form, so as to render it necessary for it to lift its head high, and throw it back, before it can seize its prey ; and then, when it has so seized it, the teeth, or fangs, cannot be extricated by a mere re-opening of its jaws, but the substance seized must be torn to pieces, or the fangs must be broken or extracted by the process. Dr. Luzenberg found, by a variety of experiments and examinations, that this was the case ; but he also ascertained that Nature had made adequate provision for this casualty, as the rattlesnake sheds its fangs five times every year, and can consequently replace those lost by any accident of this description. The poison appears to travel down the inside of the fang, not by any process of injection, as is supposed, but by the mere pressure occasioned by the bite, which causes it to exude from the cells, or cavities, at the root of the fang in which it is contained.

Among the birds, we saw the water-turkey, as it is called here, which presents a curious and unusual combination, having the sharp straight bill and fan-tail of a land bird, and the web-feet of an aquatic bird, a small body, and long legs. Its whole height was about fifteen inches as it stood erect ; and its colour

was a dark bluish-grey on the back, and a lighter tint of the same underneath, with feather-covered thighs. Among the serpents, was a long, beautiful, and variegated specimen, which corresponded exactly with the description given by Pliny of the serpent called "*Hieroglyphica*" in Egypt, and thought to be peculiar to the Nile, but this was found on the banks of the Mississippi. Of mocassin-snakes, as venomous as the rattlesnake, there are many, these abounding in the marshes near; and bodies of alligators, frogs, and other reptiles, from the neighbouring waters, were abundant. The collection of butterflies, moths, beetles, and insects, was also very extensive; and among them was one which was deemed a great rarity, if not unique—a large grasshopper, of a glossy jet black on the exterior, and bright scarlet under the wings, found, like all the rest, in this country.

The Hospital, which is called the "Franklin Infirmary," and over which is a bust of Benjamin Franklin, another surmounting the arbour in the garden, we accompanied Mrs. Luzenberg to the Orphan Asylum, and had an opportunity of seeing the 130 children of which its inmates now consist, from the age of three up to fourteen, in school. One very remarkable fact, connected with this institution, was, that out of the whole number, at this tender age, and in this climate, not one of the children was sick. The sick-ward, indeed, had been empty for many months, and every one of the little orphans was in full health, and at her post of duty. In the Boys' Orphan Asylum, which we visited with Mr. Duncan a few days before, there was but one boy indisposed, out

of all their number, just as large as that of the girls, and he was convalescent; while all the others were at work in the garden, or indulging in play; and when we saw them mustered before supper, they presented the appearance of as healthy and happy a set of little fellows as could be seen. So it was with these female children. As they were at school when we called, we had an opportunity of seeing them at their studies. The teacher, an elderly widow lady, appeared to be admirably qualified for her task, and the pupils acquitted themselves in a manner to do great credit to their tutor. They were all neatly but plainly clad, and were all taught needlework, and made to assist in household industry, so as to qualify them to get their own living. We were assured, that while very many, who had left the institution, had succeeded in the various branches of industry, to which they had since devoted themselves, a great number here married advantageously, and made excellent wives; while no one instance had yet occurred to their knowledge, in which any of them had done anything to cast a stain upon their own reputation, or bring dishonour on the institution that had protected and instructed them. Surely, if there be any charities, of unequivocal and unmixed good, they are such as provide for the fatherless and motherless, who, without such shelter as is here afforded them, would be liable either to perish for want of means of support, or become abandoned for want of protection and instruction; and if there be a sight that can cheer the heart as well as the eyes, and have no drawback to its pleasure from the intrusion of collateral considerations, it is the sight of the poor and

destitute, taken from their forlorn condition of helpless misery, and sheltered and nurtured by private benevolence, till they can be placed in a situation of independent self-subsistence, to be the authors of happiness to themselves, and of comfort and assistance to others. Prosperity to all such praiseworthy institutions! and honour and joy to those pure and generous ornaments of their race and times, who not only open their purses, but give their time, their labour, and the influence of their bright example, to sustain them!

Among other visits we made to-day, was one to a most interesting Florentine lady, Mademoiselle America Vespucci, a lineal descendant of the great navigator whose name was given to the continent of America. She had just arrived here from Washington, and, besides the natural impulse of feeling, which alone would prompt an early expression of respect, and proffer of hospitality, to one of such truly illustrious descent—the convictions of duty and the calls of sympathy joined with those of more generous impulse, to induce us to pay this lady an early visit. I went, therefore, accompanied by my family, and Mrs. Luzenberg, to the Hotel St. Louis, where we enjoyed a long and agreeable interview with this accomplished and most interesting stranger. To convey to others the interest which we felt ourselves, and to state the circumstances which gave so great an additional charm to her powerful personal attractions, it may be proper to present the following particulars, from the journals of the day of the accuracy of which there is no doubt.

AMERICA VESPUCCI.—As this fair stranger is now in our city, perhaps some, if not all of our readers will read with interest some points in her history. The article which follows, is taken from the 'Washington Democratic Review' for February, 1839:

"After spending, like most of the young Italian ladies of rank, fourteen years of her youth in a convent for her education (the convent of *La Signora della Quiete*, in the environs of Florence) she was introduced into the midst of the brilliant society of the capital and court of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, at the age of seventeen.* She was placed by her parents in the service of the Grand Duchess, as a 'demoiselle de compagne,' or maid of honour. There she was of course surrounded with all the seductive influences of European aristocratic life, in the midst of the splendours and luxuries of the Pitti Palace. Her mind had, however, already — by its own self-derived impulses, as it would seem, for it was certainly entirely at variance with all the natural bias of such an education and such a position—taken a decided stand in the movement of liberal ideas which is the leading characteristic of the age, and which in no country has exercised a stronger influence upon the imagination of ardent youth than in Italy. Possessed of rare natural talents, highly accomplished by reading and cultivation, with remarkable force of character, vivacity of imagination, and energy of will, it will not be a subject of surprise, that, during the agitations that were fermenting in the north of Italy immediately after the French revolution, she was one of the few females whose social position and personal qualities gained them admission to the secret societies which were conspiring to rid Italy of the dominion of a foreign despotism, and to unite the whole of that beautiful and unhappy land under a single sovereign, who might again restore it to a rank amidst the family of nations. But we are not aware of any others whose ardour carried them beyond the private machinations of conspiracy, to the actual field of battle and blood.

"In the attempted rising of August, 1832, and in the engagement with the Austrians on the banks of the Rimini, in which, it will be remembered by our readers that young Louis Bonaparte took part, she conducted herself with great gallantry, and received a severe sabre stroke on the back of her head, from an Austrian

dragoon (to whom, however, though nameless, the justice ought to be done, to state that he did not know her to be a woman,) and in her fall to the ground, her right arm was broken by the weight of her horse falling upon it. Though suspected, her disguised participation in this affair could not be proved, and after her recovery from her wounds, she spent two years at her father's house in Florence, though under a vigilant surveillance. This resulted in the interception of a letter to her, as secretary of one of the sections of the Society of 'La Jeune Italie,' which made it apparent that she could disclose its entire organization in Tuscany. She was accordingly required either to betray her associates, or to quit Florence within twenty-four hours. Her choice between these two alternatives does not need to be stated. She found a present asylum under the protection of the Queen of the French; and it is under the auspices of the French flag, and the highest guarantees of the genuineness of her title to American sympathy and friendship in all points of view—of character, conduct, family, and position—that she is now here, in the country to which she has always looked as her natural home of refuge and protection."

The object for which she had specially come to America, was to obtain, if possible, a grant of land from the Congress of the United States, as a means of honourable and independent support; and the failure of her application, as well as the grounds on which it was deemed necessary to decline compliance with the request, are fully and fairly stated in the following Report made to the Senate of the United States, by Mr. Walker, of Mississippi—

"Conceiving it to be their duty to verify the facts upon which the application was founded, they have examined a voluminous mass of documentary evidence, and find the statements of the memorial to be fully sustained. They have seen the authentic certificates of baptism, through many generations of the Vespucci family in Florence, which attest the lineage and descent of the memorialist. They have read the highly favourable and com-

plimentary letter of the Queen of the French, through her secretary, to the petitioner. They have read the letter to her of the King of the French, through the minister of the interior, subscribing for a work for the king, of which she was the author, and have also read the permission of the French minister of the marine, for her to sail in a French national vessel. The committee have also had before them her credentials from the minister of Tuscany, in France, and many other papers of high character and authenticity in her favour. They have also witnessed her own personal deportment here, and the manner in which she has been received by the French legation, which, added to other testimonials, leave not a doubt of the identity of the memorialist, and the truth of her representations.

“After the lapse, then, of more than three centuries, a descendant of the celebrated Americus Vespuccius is amongst us. This heroic navigator, before, and also after the close of the fifteenth century, landed upon the shores of the New World, among the most early and scientific of those who succeeded the great and pre-eminent Columbus in the discovery of this continent. A descriptive narrative of his several voyages was written and published by Americus, and Europe baptized with his name this mighty continent. This name can never now be abandoned. It is the name of our beloved country. It is associated with all the glories of the past, and the still brighter hopes of the future. It is written upon our national constitution, and engraven upon the heart of every true American. Under this name we have succeeded in two struggles with the most formidable power in Europe, and have so wonderfully augmented in population, that should the same ratio of increase continue for the future, the close of this century will find within our limits more than one hundred millions of people, and more than five millions within the single city of New York.

“In reflecting then with glory upon the name of American, can we forget the great navigator from whom we derived this proudest of earthly titles? A descendant of Americus is now here; a young, interesting, dignified, and accomplished lady, with a mind of the highest intellectual culture, and a heart beating with all our own enthusiasm in the cause of America, and of human liberty. She

feels that the name she bears is a prouder title than any that earthly monarchs can bestow ; and she comes here, asking us for a small corner of American soil, where she may pass the remainder of her days in this land of her adoption. She comes here as an exile, separated for ever from her family and friends ; a stranger, without a country and without a home ; expelled from her native Italy, for the avowal and maintenance of opinions favourable to free institutions, and an ardent desire for the establishment of her country's freedom. That she indeed is worthy of the name of America—that her heart is indeed imbued with American principles, and a fervent love for human liberty, is proved in her case, by toils, and perils, and sacrifices, worthy of the proudest days of antiquity, when the Roman and the Spartan matrons were ever ready to surrender life itself in their country's service."

Such was the history of this Italian lady ; and our personal interview with her, not only confirmed all our previous expectations, but went far beyond them. In person, she had the style of beauty which one sees in the finest statues of the antique—a noble head, regular and expressive features, a fair and stately neck, dark eyes, dark hair, beautiful lips and teeth, a fine expanded chest, well-rounded arms, white and delicate hands, small feet, and an exquisitely graceful figure of the middle size. She appeared in a simple yet elegant and well-made dress of black silk, trimmed with deep lace. Her head was marked by a classic grandeur, though without any kind of ornament but her rich and exuberant hair ; her voice was full of music ; and in her look and expression, dignity and sweetness were happily blended. Her age appeared to be about twenty-five or twenty-six, and her whole deportment presented the most agreeable combination of dignified self-respect with refinement, polish, and ease, that I ever remember to have

witnessed. Though opposed to royalty, and coming to seek an asylum in a republic, she looked, and spoke, and moved, as if she were "every inch a queen." She seemed to realize the idea I had often formed of the Egyptian Cleopatra; and it would not be hazarding much to say, that she was altogether, the most accomplished, elegant, and interesting woman that had ever landed on this continent since the days of her great ancestor whose name it bears.

Our conversation was at first in Italian; but when a French lady arrived to join our party, it changed to French, both of which languages she spoke with an eloquence rarely equalled; and her whole discourse seemed to be composed of "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." She spoke with great feeling, of the degraded and oppressed condition of her beloved country, Italy; and suppressed with some difficulty the emotion under which she was evidently struggling, when she said she had bidden it an eternal adieu! She expressed herself surprised and delighted at the grandeur and extent of the territory occupied by the several States of this great Republican Union; and charmed with all she had yet seen of the workings of its political system, in which freedom of sentiment and freedom of expression was enjoyed by all on topics of religion and government, and the freest exercise allowed to enterprise and industry in every branch of human undertaking. This was a state of things so new to her sight and experience, though often read of in books, dreamt of in theory, and hoped for in her aspirations after Italian liberty, but never before realized within her actual vision, that she sometimes

doubted whether all she saw around her was real, or merely an allusion. Sometimes she dreaded, too, lest so fair a fabric should be prematurely undermined by some destroying principle, or some corrupting power, and thus the great example of self-government which it was exhibiting to the world, be frustrated or destroyed, before the enemies of human liberty would allow its grand experiment to be completed. Her grief, at seeing the continued existence, and hearing the continued defence of negro slavery, was the only drawback to her satisfaction ; but this she condemned in terms of just indignation, and admitted, that with all their many claims to admiration, the Americans could never be recognized as a great or truly free people, until they should put away this reproach from them, by emancipating their slaves.

Since my favoured and happy residence with Lady Hester Stanhope, in the mountains of Palestine, I had never witnessed so noble a union of high birth, mental power, lofty aspirations, and generous impulses, blended with so much refinement of manners, and the whole crowned by the utmost affability and kindness, as in the person of America Vespucci. It is not too much to say of her, that there is no throne in Europe, which she would not elevate by her wisdom ; no court which she would not adorn by her manners ; no family, that she would not delight by her conversation ; and no man, however noble in birth, profound in erudition, high in station, or opulent in fortune, to whom she would not be a source of intellectual and social enjoyment, if he could but win her respect and confidence, and become the object of her esteem as well as of her affections.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Departure from New Orleans—Steam-vessel for Natchez—Sugar plantations on the banks of the Mississippi—Topic of slavery introduced and discussed—Practices of slaves to avoid labour—Expensiveness of slavery—Cheapness of free labour—Sentiments in Kentucky and Ohio on these points—Plantations, wood, culture, and cattle—Steam-engines for propelling flat boats—Former and present navigation of the river—Passengers from India and France—Reminiscences of Calcutta and Paris—Baton Rouge—The Mississippi and the Nile—Features of contrast or dissimilarity in these rivers—Curved bends—Junction of the Red river—Healthiness of the country—Arrival at Natchez.

THE morning of our departure having arrived, we were busily occupied in the payment of bills ; and certainly the experience thus practically afforded us, was such as to confirm the general opinion that New Orleans is one of the most expensive places in the world. Our bill at the Hotel, for three persons and a man-servant, having no private sitting-room, as this is a comfort rarely to be obtained, dining at the public table, and using no wine, was at the rate of twelve dollars, or £2. 10s. per day ; coach-hire, a dollar for each person for the shortest ride, or three dollars for an hour ; printing charges about four times as high as at New York ; articles of apparel most exorbitantly dear, five or six times the London prices at least ; and the binding of a small manuscript octavo volume was charged five dollars, or a guinea, which

in England would have cost half-a-crown ; and most other things in the same proportion of extravagance ; so that we could bear testimony to the accuracy of the common saying at New Orleans, that " Economy is the greatest thief of time, as it takes longer to *save* anything than it does to *make* it."

At length, having settled our accounts, and taken leave of all our friends, with many a cordial and mutual expression of the hope that we should one day meet again, we embarked at noon on Saturday the 20th of April, on board the steam-vessel " Ambassador," Captain James, for Natchez. Soon after quitting the wharf, we were under way ascending the Mississippi—again admiring, as we quitted it, the beautiful curve of this noble river, the splendid line of ships moored along the Levée, with the mingling of not less than a hundred steam-vessels, and smaller craft of every rig, making altogether the finest marine picture that any river in the world could present.

The steamer in which we had embarked, was one of the first class, being 225 feet in length, measuring about 500 tons in burden, carrying 2,500 bales of cotton, each from 400 to 500 lbs. weight ; and propelled by two engines of about 150-horse power each. The dining saloon, which was on the upper deck, exceeded 100 feet in length, by about 20 in breadth. On each side of this were double-berthed state-rooms, with doors leading from the saloon on one side and from the outer deck on the other, the bed-places lying athwart-ships one over the other. Aft the saloon was a ladies' cabin about 40 feet in length, with similar double-berthed state-rooms on both sides of

the saloon, the cabins being each about fifteen feet in height, lighted and ventilated by side-lights running the whole length of both. The saloon was beautifully carpeted, and adorned with marble pier-tables, mirrors, and pictures, and formed altogether a splendidly furnished suite of rooms. The superior accommodations were adapted to about 100 passengers ; but as the season for leaving New Orleans had but just commenced, our number did not exceed fifty ; comprising about two-thirds gentlemen and one-third ladies ; while of steerage-passengers, there were an equal number ; and deck-passengers, as they are termed, a still inferior class, about the same. The fare to Natchez in the cabin was fifteen dollars, for about 300 miles ; the steerage-passage, half that amount. The deck-passengers paid only five dollars for their fare all the way to Louisville, a distance of 1,500 miles ; but then they found their own provisions, and assisted the crew at every place at which the vessel stopped for a supply of fuel for the engines, the labour of this being very great, as the consumption of wood was about forty cords, at three dollars per cord, for each twenty-four hours.

The captain was a very gentlemanly and intelligent man, a native of Cincinnati, and principal owner of the vessel ; the engineers and firemen were sober and careful, and the crew was efficient and active. The waiters were numerous and attentive, the table was well supplied, and the passengers were not otherwise disagreeable than by the constant use of tobacco, the chewing or smoking of which was practised by all, and both by the greater number accompanied

by the offensive habit of spitting anywhere and everywhere, without regard to time, place, person, or material. This practice appears to have suffered no diminution, notwithstanding the repeated strictures on it by almost every traveller that has passed through the country, and the extreme sensitiveness of those to whom this censure so justly applies. How the ladies of America, who affect to be peculiarly delicate, do not feel disgust at this habit, has always appeared to me astonishing; it is only to be accounted for, perhaps, by the fact that that constant familiarity with any practice, from infancy, however filthy in its nature it may be, reconciles persons to its continuance.

As we advanced up the river, the scenery, though flat, was rich, luxuriant, and interesting. The stream was about a mile and a quarter in breadth; the current running at the rate of three miles an hour, trees without bark or leaves occasionally floating down the stream, and drift-wood of a smaller kind being abundant. The depth of the river, according to the statement of the captain, is from forty to fifty fathoms in mid-channel opposite New Orleans, and this very slowly diminishes as we proceed upward, though it gradually shoals of course towards the shore; but everywhere, for several hundred miles above the city, there is depth of water enough close to the banks to admit of large ships mooring within a few feet of the soil, and sometimes fastening by hawsers to the trees overhanging the stream. Some such ships, indeed, of more than 400 tons burden, we saw a long way above New Orleans, taking in sugar, which was conveyed in hogsheads from the

sugar-houses of the plantations, to the river's brink, and then rolled on board the vessels on planks passing from the shore to her gangway.

Among the plantations that we passed, one of the most perfect was on the estate of the late Mr. Henderson, the wealthy Scotchman, who left such munificent legacies to the Orphan Asylum, and other charitable institutions of New Orleans. The grounds appeared to be in the highest order, the dwelling-house of the overseer or resident manager was large and commodious, and the gardens and shrubberies around it beautiful. The negro-quarters, built of wood, were placed like soldiers' barracks, in uniform rows, looking very neat, clean, and orderly. The external appearance of such establishments—and the greater number of the plantations near New Orleans partake of this character—is very apt to deceive spectators into a belief, that so much exterior neatness and symmetry, must be attended with a corresponding degree of interior comfort. Several of the passengers, knowing me to be an Englishman, and naturally inferring my disapprobation of slavery, pointed with great satisfaction, and even an air of triumph, to these beautiful plantations and their neat and orderly negro-quarters ; and said, “ See, sir, what comfort and happiness these slaves here enjoy ! Where is the population in Europe so pleasantly quartered, and so happily provided for, as these ; their food raised for them without care, medical assistance when sick, and no apprehension of starving ? ” I replied, “ that there were three classes of population in Europe who had as excellent quarters, better clothing, better living, medical attendance when sick, no care about the

future, and no apprehension of starving, with extra wages besides ; but who were not, for all these reasons, accounted 'happy ;' and these were, our soldiers in their barracks, our paupers in their new union-workhouses, and our sailors in a man-of-war. In each of these cases, the accommodations for eating, drinking, and sleeping, are far superior to those of any American plantation ; the food and raiment are better and more abundant than any furnished to the slaves, and the care bestowed on them in sickness is still greater ; yet, even all this, with the wages which two of these classes received, and which no slave could ever hope to enjoy, is more than counteracted, by the restraints on their personal liberty, which each of them suffer, in addition to the occasional 'floggings' for neglect of duty, disobedience of orders, or attempts to escape, and imprisonment and reduced fare in cases of indolence or obstinacy. The consequence is, a craving desire, on the part of most, to escape from their confinement ; and although the captains of men-of-war defend 'impressment' as an established and safe method of keeping the sailor out of harm's-way, and providing him a comfortable ship and a home ; although colonels defend 'flogging,' as a wholesome discipline, good for the body and the mind, and calculated to make the soldier happy, by teaching him subordination ; and although the boards of guardians and overseers of the poor, think confinement to the workhouse, and spare diet, better for the health and morals of the paupers under their control, than outdoor relief ; yet, these are regarded by the bulk of the community, as mere professional or interested

opinions—as much so as that of a slaveholder pretending that to work from four in the morning till sunset, with slight intermissions, to be fed on the coarsest food, not sufficiently provided with garments to ensure cleanliness of apparel by change, and to be ‘well-flogged’ when attempting to escape, is a state of ‘happiness’ for the negro, which he could never attain if he were free !”

In the course of the protracted conversation to which these topics led, a gentleman from Kentucky, engaged in the growing of corn and grazing of cattle, himself a slaveholder to a considerable extent, and joining in all the denunciations of the Abolitionists, undertook to show, that after all, slavery was a much greater curse to the owners than it was to the slaves, as it absorbed their capital, ate up their profits, and proved a perpetual obstacle to their progressive prosperity. He said he had not only made the calculation, but actually tried the experiment of comparing the labour of the free white man and the negro slave; and he found the latter always the dearest of the two. It took, for instance, 2,000 dollars to purchase a good male slave. The interest of money in Kentucky being ten per cent, here was 200 dollars a year of actual cost; but to insure his life it would require at least five per cent more, which would make 300 dollars a year. “Add to this the necessary expenses of maintenance while healthy, and medical attendance while sick, with wages of white overseers to every gang of men to see that they do their duty, and other incidental charges, and he did not think that a slave could cost less, in interest, insurance, subsistence, and watching, than 500 dollars or 100*l.* sterling a

year ; yet, after all, he would not do more than half the work of a white man, who could be hired at the same sum, without the outlay of any capital, or the incumbrance of maintenance while sick, and was, therefore, by far the cheapest labourer of the two.

This same gentleman told us of two instances that had happened on his own estate, of ingenious evasions of labour. One man took medicine, which he stole from the dispensary, purposely to make himself sick, to avoid work ; and when examined by the doctor, he was detected in having spread powdered mustard on his tongue, to give it a foul appearance. A female slave, to avoid working for her master, produced such swellings in her arms, as to excite the compassion of those who thought it to be some dreadful disease ; but the same person, who lay abed groaning with agony all day, being detected in the act of washing clothes at night, for some persons in the neighbourhood, for which she was to be paid—and to effect which in secrecy, she was found standing nearly up to her middle in a pond concealed under the trees—afterwards confessed, in order to avoid a flogging, that she had produced the swelling in her arms by thrusting them into a beehive, and keeping them there till they were thoroughly bitten and stung ; and when the swelling began to subside, she repeated the same operation to revive them.

I inquired, “Why, if this were the state of things, they did not cure it by giving freedom to their slaves ?” and the answer was this ; “that up to a very recent period, the feeling was almost universal in Kentucky, that it would be better to do so, especially as the neighbouring State of Ohio, *without* slaves, was

making so much more rapid strides in prosperity than Kentucky *with* them; and that probably in a few years, their emancipation would have been agreed upon, but that the proceedings of the Abolitionists in the North wounded their pride, and they determined that they would not submit to interference or dictation in the regulation of their 'domestic institution.'" To this feeling was added another; that of 'standing by' the other Slave States of the South, and making common cause with them in a determination not to do anything by coercion or by threat, but to abide their own time, and act independently of all fear or intimidation.

The gentleman admitted, however, that this had only increased the difficulty, by putting off the evil day; for the slaves were every year increasing rapidly in numbers; and the more numerous they became, the more difficult it would be to know what to do with them. At present, no slave could be made free there, except on full provision for his leaving the State; and then they became wanderers over the North, where they were treated with more scorn and neglect than at home; the prejudices against coloured people being stronger in the Free than in the Slave States. He confessed his belief, therefore, that slavery was the greatest evil which this country now endured; that it would have been well for America if no African had ever been brought to its shores; that it would be still well, if, by any course of proceeding, they could transplant them all back to Africa in colonies; but that unless this or something else should be done, and that speedily, it was impossible to resist the conviction that a fearful

conflict for emancipation would sooner or later take place ; and the issue of that, no man could contemplate without trembling.

As we advanced along the river, the banks continued everywhere to exhibit the utmost degree of fertility ; plantations, chiefly of sugar, but sometimes of cotton, abounded on either side ; in no instance, however, going back farther than two or three miles of cleared land from the river's edge, the rest beyond being forest. In some places the uncleared wood approached close to the river's brink, the trees being chiefly cotton-wood, and not pine ; very little of the festooned drapery of moss, which abounds on the Alabama ; occasional large evergreen trees of the live-oak ; and graceful weeping-willows hanging over the stream. At other times, cane-brakes would slope quite down to the river's edge, thick, and impenetrable to all but the experienced woodsmen and the beasts of the field. Horned cattle were occasionally seen grazing in the neighbourhood of plantations, and sheep still more abundantly, the mutton of Louisiana being considered, and justly so, as the best kind of animal food in the country ; we had not indeed tasted any in the United States equal to it in flavour. Large steam-vessels, laden with cotton, and full of passengers, passed us every hour on their way to New Orleans, each going at the rate of ten miles an hour at least ; while slowly-floating rafts and flat-boats, dropping down by the mere force of the current, guided only by a single steersman, who was cheered by the songs of the crew, added to the interest of the scene. They have begun, however, of late, to introduce steam-engines for propelling

these rafts, though we did not meet with one of this description in our way ; but the following paragraph, taken from one of the newspapers of the day, on board the vessel, and confirmed to us by persons who had seen the boat described, informed us of this new step in river navigation.

“Steam applied to flat boats.—A few days since, a Broad-horn arrived at our landing, having a steam-engine on board, with a corn-mill, shelling-machine, &c. The engine propels the boat, and shells, fans, and grinds the corn at the same time.”—Baton Rouge Gazette.

One of the gentlemen on board, said he remembered well the intercourse between Louisville in Kentucky and New Orleans, before steam-vessels were in use. Boats with sails and oars, and the greater number of them without cabins for shelter, as well as rafts with little huts in their centre, used to take fifty and sixty days to get down to New Orleans, a voyage now made by steam-vessels in five or six. No one then thought of ascending the Mississippi back against the current, in vessels of any kind ; so that the boats or rafts, after descending the stream, were sold or broken up ; the crews had then to perform their journey of 800 miles back on foot, by the shortest route, to regain their homes, travelling through marsh and forest, encountering hostile Indians by the way ; and generally more than half their number were carried off by fever, ague, fatigue, or tomahawk, before they accomplished their journey.

The temperature of the day had been warm, the thermometer at 85° in the shade, and not a breath of air stirring ; so that when we stopped at the wood-

landings to take in fuel, and lost the breeze which the vessel made by her own progress through the stream, it was very sultry and oppressive, though so early in the spring (April 20); but after a rich and golden sunset of exquisite beauty, the evening was really delicious. The moon was high in the heavens, the stars shone with unusual brilliancy, and the air, though still, soft, and balmy, was fresh and cool. Every one repaired to the deck; and we remained up till nearly midnight in agreeable and varied conversation.

One gentleman of our party had performed five voyages as supercargo from New York to Calcutta, and was intimately acquainted with all the transactions connected with my banishment from thence, and all the changes that had been brought about in the East India Company's charter; he knew the greater number of my old friends in Bengal, and gave me more recent intelligence of many, than I had received through other sources, having left it only a year ago. Other gentlemen had seen and heard me in England; and one had been in Paris, in September, 1830, when a public banquet was given by the English in that capital to General Lafayette, in the Place du Chatelêt, at which I had the honour to preside. This formed a link of acquaintance between us, as he had been present at the entertainment, and we talked over the fate of the various public and political characters then present, many of them still eminent among the leading men of France, and many now no more. These reminiscences, on the bosom of the Mississippi, were highly

acceptable and agreeable, and contributed very greatly to the pleasure of our way.

On the following morning, April 21, we were opposite to Baton Rouge, a very old, but still small settlement on the north-eastern bank of the Mississippi, our progress having been somewhat retarded by a heavy night-fog, during which it was not deemed safe to run. The scenery from hence became less interesting, the villages and plantations were fewer, cane-brakes more abundant, and woods on each side continuous and unbroken. In many parts of the river I was strongly reminded of the Nile, especially in those where perpendicular banks of rich alluvial deposits, showed a depth of fifteen or twenty feet of dark soil, in layers deposited by the river at different periods. The stream, too, was about the same average breadth, rather less than a mile, and the water quite as muddy, but not so agreeable to the taste. The features of difference were more numerous, however, than those of similarity. The valley of the Nile is extremely narrow, not more than twenty miles on the average throughout, hemmed in by two chains of barren rocky mountains, which makes it less than ten miles broad in Upper Egypt especially. The valley of the Mississippi is of immense breadth, estimated at 1,500 miles from the Alleghanys to the Rocky Mountains, and from the stream itself not a hill or any other barrier is anywhere in view. All the primeval forests of the Nile had disappeared 4,000 years ago; those of the Mississippi are but just beginning to be felled. On the banks of the Nile scarcely any wood but the palm-tree is to be seen in

any quantity. Here, every other kind of wood *except* the palm is visible, and covers the surface so thickly that forests bound the river in every point of the horizon. In the valley of the Nile, the chief interest is in the monuments of departed greatness, as contrasted with present decrepitude and decay. In the valley of the Mississippi, the chief interest lies in the signs of promise for the future, as contrasted with the wild and savage nature, from which it has but just emerged into a giant infancy, advancing on to manhood with colossal strides.

About noon we passed beyond the eastern limits of Louisiana, which terminate here, in the latitude of 31° north; but on the western side of the stream it is continued to latitude 33° ; and we had now, therefore, the State of Mississippi on the east, and Louisiana on the west, the river running here nearly north and south. So curved and sweeping are its bends, however, in some places, that where a neck of land is only a mile or two across from stream to stream, the circuit round by water is upwards of forty miles; and this was particularly the case at this part of the river. Above this, on our right, we had some high bluffs, at a place where Fort Adams was planted, the height of the yellow cliffs being from 80 to 120 feet; and opposite to this, on the left, but separated by an island from our view, was the junction of the Red River with the Mississippi.

This great stream comes from the west, flowing upwards of 1,000 miles, and its banks were originally settled by the French; so that its parishes (for it had this as an ecclesiastical division) are mostly

called by French names ; and many of the inhabitants speak only the French tongue. Though full of marshes, and bayous, as the small streams which empty into the larger ones are called, it is accounted the most healthy part of the South ; and an anecdote is told, of a medical man having gone there to seek for practice, who had not a single patient through an entire year ; but when he was coming away in despair, a very old man, considerably above a hundred, was found sitting under a tree, and being observed there day after day for several weeks, the inhabitants thought he had fallen into a long sleep, death being a calamity they had altogether forgotten, from the length of time since any such event had occurred among them or their neighbours ! Such is the story in the true American taste for exaggerated wit.

It was nine o'clock at night when we reached Natchez, where we ascended the steep hill from the landing-place to the top of the high bluff on which the town is built, and proceeding to the Mansion House, which is the principal hotel, we took up our quarters there.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Settlement and progress of the State of Mississippi—Leading features of its political constitution—Election of Sheriff and Attorney-General by the people—Provisions for promoting education, religion, and morality—Form of legislature—Governor, senate, and representatives—Laws respecting slavery passed in Mississippi—Laws restraining the retail of ardent spirits—Support given by the public press to temperance laws—Militia—Post-office—Government patronage.

THE new State of Mississippi, into which we had now entered, was originally considered as belonging to the colony of Louisiana, and, as such, was under the dominion of the French, so long as that colony was possessed by it. As early as the year 1716, a small party of French colonists settled themselves among the Natchez Indians, one of the most powerful tribes of the South; and built a fort on the high bluff on which the town of Natchez now stands. The settlement continued to increase in numbers till 1729, when it was completely destroyed, the Chickasaws and Natchez tribes having united to massacre the whole of the white inhabitants, at this town and at two other small settlements, on the Washita and Yazoo rivers. They murdered no less than 700 individuals, three or four only out of the whole number escaping their arrows or their tomahawks, the weapons chiefly used by them. This event struck such terror into all white settlers, that none could be induced for many years afterwards to venture into

this part of the country, and it remained, therefore, entirely in the hands of the Indians, till the territory was ceded by France to Great Britain; when, as soon as possession was taken of it, several English settlers planted themselves at Natchez.

Soon after the American revolution, in 1783, England relinquished, by treaty, the whole of the Floridas to Spain; and ceded all the country north of latitude 31° to the United States; but the Americans and the Spaniards, contending for a long time afterwards as to the exact boundaries between their respective territories, the latter still kept possession of Natchez until 1798, when it was finally given up to the United States.

In 1800, the country lying between the western boundary of Georgia, and the river Mississippi, was erected into a distinct Territory, by the name of the great stream that washed its eastern border. In the following year, the Chocktaw tribe of Indians ceded a large portion of their lands to the general government; and in 1817, the Territory was thought to be sufficiently far advanced in population and wealth, to be admitted into the Union, when an act of Congress was passed, authorizing this step. In consequence of this, a convention of the people met in July, 1817, to frame a State constitution; and the conditions prescribed by the act of Congress having been complied with, Mississippi was admitted as a new State, into the great Confederation of the North American Republic. Such is a brief outline of its history.

As the constitution of this State is one of the most recent in point of date, and may be regarded

as a fair specimen of the State constitutions generally, especially those of the South, it may not be unacceptable to present a few of its most striking provisions, merely remarking, that they are all founded upon the great republican principle avowed in the opening section, and continued to be kept in view throughout. The enemies of free institutions in Europe studiously endeavour to inculcate and disseminate a belief, that the Americans are already becoming dissatisfied with their republican government, and are endeavouring to retrace their steps by making their constitutions less democratic. That this is not the case with the recently formed States of the Union, the following extracts from the constitution of Mississippi will abundantly show—

Sec. 1. All freemen, when they form a social compact, are equal in rights; and no man, or set of men, are entitled to exclusive separate public emoluments or privileges from the community, but in consideration of public services.

Sec. 2. All political power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and established for their benefit; and therefore they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter or abolish their form of government, in such manner as they may think expedient.

Sec. 4. No preference shall ever be given by law to any religious sect, or mode of worship.

Sec. 5. No person shall be molested for his opinions on any subject whatever, nor suffer any civil or political incapacity, or acquire any civil or political advantage, in consequence of such opinions, except in cases provided for in this constitution.

Sec. 6. Every citizen may freely speak, write, and publish his sentiments on all subjects; being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Sec. 7. No law shall ever be passed to curtail or restrain the liberty of speech, or of the press.

Sec. 8. In all prosecutions or indictments for libel, the truth may be given in evidence ; and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libellous is true, and was published with good motives, and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted ; and the jury shall have the right to determine the law and the fact.

Sec. 20. No property qualification for eligibility to office, or for the right of suffrage, shall ever be required by law in this State.

Sec. 21. The estates of suicides shall descend or vest as in cases of natural death ; and if any person shall be killed by casualty, there shall be no forfeiture by reason thereof.

Sec. 22. The citizens have a right, in a peaceable manner, to assemble together for their common good, and to apply to those vested with the powers of government for redress of grievances, or other proper purposes, by petition, address, or remonstrance.

Sec. 23. Every citizen has a right to bear arms in defence of himself and of the State.

Sec. 24. No standing army shall be kept up without the consent of the legislature ; and the military shall in all cases, and at all times, be in strict subordination to the civil power.

Sec. 26. No hereditary emoluments, privileges, or honours, shall ever be granted or conferred in this State.

Sec. 27. Emigration from this State shall not be prohibited, nor shall any free white citizen of this State ever be exiled under any pretence whatever.

Sec. 28. The right of trial by jury shall remain inviolate.

Sec. 20. No person shall ever be appointed or elected to any office in this State for life ; but the tenure of all offices shall be for some limited period of time, if the person appointed or elected thereto shall so long behave well.

In addition to these provisions are others respecting the formation of the legislature, and the election to office, all of which are regulated by the constitution ; and among the various articles and sections, the following are worthy of notice—

“Sec. 1. Every free white man, of twenty-one years of age, being a citizen of the United States, residing one year in this State, and four months in the place where he gives his vote, is deemed a legally qualified elector.”

By such electors are chosen the members of the House of Representatives, the Senators, the Governor, the Judges, the Sheriffs, the Attorney-General, and Secretary of State. These are all elected by the people, for the different terms prescribed by the constitution; the Representatives for two years, the Senators for four; the Judges for two, four, and six years; the Governor for two years; the Secretary of State, Attorney-General, and Sheriffs for the same period. The only qualifications required for these respective offices, is a certain age, and certain term of residence in the State; all else is left to the discretion and judgment of the people to understand and perceive, and to elect or reject the candidates for office accordingly; there being only one general bar of exclusion, which is stated in the article of General Provisions in these terms:

“Sec. 5. No person who denies the being of a God, or a future state of rewards and punishments, shall hold any office in the civil department of the State.”

The following sections, which are also found among the General Provisions, are worthy of notice.

“Sec. 14. Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall for ever be encouraged in this State.

“Sec. 15. Divorces from the bonds of matrimony shall not be granted, but in cases provided for by law, by suit in Chancery.

“Sec. 2. The legislature shall pass such laws to prevent the evil practice of duelling as they deem necessary, and may require all

officers, before they enter on the duties of their respective offices, to take the following oath or affirmation : ‘ I do solemnly swear, (or affirm, as the case may be,) that I have not been engaged in a duel, by sending or accepting a challenge to fight a duel, or by fighting a duel, since the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three, nor will I be so engaged during my continuance in office. So help me God.”

“ Sec. 4. Every person shall be disqualified from holding an office, or place of honour or profit, under the authority of this State, who shall be convicted of having given or offered any bribe to procure his election. Laws shall be made to exclude from office and from suffrage, those who shall hereafter be convicted of bribery, perjury, forgery, or other high crimes or misdemeanours. The privilege of free suffrage shall be supported by laws regulating elections, and prohibiting, under adequate penalties, all undue influence therein, from power, bribery, tumult, or other improper conduct.”

The best securities against bribery are found, however, in the vote by ballot, and the extent of the suffrage ; and so far as its working in this State is of any value as evidence, all parties seem to agree that these checks operate most effectually ; for no man is rich enough to bribe so many voters as are required to ensure a victory ; nor is he certain enough of those who promise, to be induced to take them at their word, while the ballot-box places it beyond his power to ascertain accurately whether the promise has been redeemed or not.

The Senate consists of thirty members, all above thirty years of age ; and includes twenty-one planters, six lawyers, one physician, one merchant, and one fisherman.* The House of Representatives consists of

* Not, of course, a man who goes out with his net or line to catch fish ; but one having ships or boats so engaged. The Duke of Sussex is, I believe, a “ citizen and fishmonger ;” and the Duke

ninety members, of whom fifty-seven are planters, twelve lawyers, five physicians, the speaker being of this number, ten merchants, one surveyor, one house-carpenter, and four of professions not indicated.

The Governor has a salary of 3,000 dollars, or about 600*l.* a year; the State Treasurer and Auditor 2,000 dollars each; and the Attorney-General 1,000 dollars besides his legal practice. The Senators and Representatives have each 4 dollars per day, and their travelling expenses. The seat of government is at Jackson City, near the centre of the State; and the session rarely lasts more than three months in the winter.

In a legislative body composed of so many planters as these two Houses contain, the question of the abolition of slavery would be likely to obtain about as much favour as the abolition of the corn-laws in the British parliament: * and for the same reason, namely, that the legislators in both cases are more interested in upholding the value of their own property, or income, whether from slaves or land, than they are in maintaining the great principles of freedom, justice, and equal rights; and though by the constitution of both countries, *power* is given to legislate upon these subjects, the unwillingness to exercise this power will continue, so long as a depreciation in the value of property to the legislators themselves, is

of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel are both "merchant-tailors;" by virtue of their being presented with the freedom of the city of London, as members of these corporations.

* This was written on the banks of the Mississippi long before the question of the Corn Laws led to the recent change of Administration in England.

likely to be the result of any change. The general provisions of the constitution of Mississippi respecting slaves is sufficiently curious to deserve transcribing. They are as follow.

“Sec. 1. The legislature shall have no power to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves, without the consent of their owners, unless where the slave shall have rendered the State some distinguished service; in which case, the owner shall be paid a full equivalent for the slave so emancipated.* They shall have no power to prevent emigrants to this State from bringing with them such persons as are deemed slaves by the laws of any one of the United States, so long as any person of the same age or description shall be continued in slavery by the laws of this State:—*Provided*, that such person or slave be the *bona fide* property of such emigrants: *and provided also*, that laws may be passed to prohibit the introduction into this State, of slaves who may have committed high crimes in other States. They shall have power to pass laws to permit the owners of slaves to emancipate them, saving the rights of creditors, and preventing them from becoming a public charge. They shall have full power to oblige the owners of slaves to treat them with humanity, to provide for them necessary clothing and provisions, to abstain from all injuries to them, extending to life or limb, and in case of their neglect or refusal to comply with the direction of such laws, to have such slave or slaves sold for the benefit of the owner or owners.”

The Judiciary consists of a High Court of Errors and Appeals, with three judges; a Chancery; and a Circuit Court with nine judicial districts; and a judge and district attorney in each. The Criminal Court for Natchez held its sittings during our stay there;

* It will be here observed, that freedom is regarded as the fit *reward* for some *distinguished service* rendered to the State; and this by the parties who are continually declaring that the slaves do not value freedom, and would not accept it if offered to them!

and the charge delivered to the grand jury at the opening of the Court by the judge, the Hon. Covington Rawlings was deemed of sufficient interest and importance by the jury itself, to be published under their authority. It denounced, in the strongest terms, the practice of duelling, gambling, and intoxication ; and though it is the fashion in Europe to say that all these are beyond the pale of legislation, and therefore they are left to riot unchecked, the courts and public authorities of America hold a different doctrine, and deem them all fit subjects of legal punishment and prohibitory restraint.

Most English readers will remember the outcry that was raised, when a proposition was made in the British parliament to adopt measures for the closing of the gin-palaces and beer-shops, which have produced so much mischief in the country, and the manner in which the newspapers denounced it : First, as an invasion of the liberties of the people ; Secondly, as an infringement on the comforts of the poor ; and Thirdly, as a fanatical attempt to make people “sober by act of parliament ;” as if all laws of restraint on the actions of men were not an infringement on the liberties of the subject, consented to for the public good ; as if to get drunk and become steeped in squalid misery, was a blessing instead of a curse to the poor ; and as if laws against robbery and murder, and the establishment of prisons and police, were not already in force, with a view to make those “honest by act of parliament,” who cannot be made so by any other means. In this republic, however, jealous as the people are of any encroachment on their liberties, averse as they are to laws for coercing

men into morality or religion, and watchful as the press is to denounce any interference of the public authorities with the freedom of action and freedom of trade—both press and people have been so taught by experience, the extent of the evil which habits of intemperance entail upon the community, that they have been almost unanimous in their approbation of the recent measures for the suppression of tippling houses, and the sale of ardent spirits in small quantities at a time—this being, as is well known, the very root of the evil.

In Tennessee, the example was first set, by prohibiting the licensing of dram-shops altogether ; and the very best effects have been produced by it ; so that this law, at first opposed with vehemence by interested parties, is now universally popular. In Rhode Island, the law prohibiting the sale of spirits in less quantities than a gallon, has also been carried by a general vote of the whole electoral body of the State, in its favour. And here, in Mississippi, one of the newest, least advanced, and least religious, perhaps, of the new States, the evil of too great facilities of obtaining the means of intoxication seem to have been so universally perceived, that a unanimous concurrence of press and people in favour of the new law, adverted to by the learned judge, has been elicited from all parts of the State. Of this, the following are only a few examples—

“THE GALLON LAW.—On no subject of an important public nature has the press ever spoken out with so much unanimity as in the case of this law, This strong and decided expression of approbation has not been confined to the limits of our own State, but even in the remote sections of the Union the most influential

and respectable presses have hailed the adoption of the *measure* as indicative of the dawning of a brighter day. Few indeed are the editors of Mississippi who have opposed it; and of these, who at most are only three or four in number, one at least has manifested a mitigation of its hostility by republishing our views on the subject. It would be idle for us to attempt to publish all the testimony of its popularity that we have accumulated. The voice of the people is decidedly in its favour, and they have willed that it must prevail. It is gratifying to observe that in our Sister Republic of Texas, the Press is at this moment urging the adoption of a similar law, and bestows the highest encomiums on our legislators for the passage of an act fraught with so many blessings to the citizens of Mississippi.—*Natchez Courier*.

“THE GALLON LAW.—Our readers will bear in mind that from and after Tuesday next, the ‘gallon law’ will be in full force and effect; and the worst wish we have for its opposers is, that they may live to see the day when the morals of the people shall become vastly improved, and the sum of individual and general happiness shall be increased a thousand fold, through the instrumentality of this same gallon law.—*Pearl River Banner*.

“THE GALLON LAW.—We are glad to find that already some of our tavern-keepers are contending for the honour of priority in anticipating the operation of the law, and in closing up their bars. We hope in one month to see their examples universally followed, and that the duties of our district attorney and criminal court will not be increased by prosecuting the violators of that most salutary law.”—*Vicksburgh Sentinel*.

These testimonies might be multiplied, to the extent of many pages, but they are sufficient to show the tone and temper of the public press on the subject of the law, and its benefits; they may be useful, therefore, in causing the press of England generally to review and revise its judgment on this all-important question, as one affecting the dearest interests of the people, in their health, liberties, competence, and enjoyment—all of which are in-

vaded, and to a large extent destroyed, by the too great temptations offered in the numerous gin-shops and beer-shops in every part of town and country, inviting to their destructive fountains the incautious and imprudent, who begin their career by a single glass, but ultimately fall victims to the use of intoxicating drinks.

Among the State institutions of Mississippi may be mentioned a well-organized militia, of which each county, to the number of fifty-two, furnishes a regiment, the whole directed by a general staff; and five divisions, each superintended by a major-general, inspectors, and subordinate officers. These are all armed and equipped at their own expense, reviewed from time to time, and held in readiness to be called into active service when the public exigencies may require it.

There are upwards of 200 post-offices in this State, though the white population does not much exceed 150,000; but this is a branch of the patronage of the general government, which is pushed to its extreme; there being no less than 15,000 post-offices in the United States, at the commencement of the present year. The post-masters at each are appointed solely by the President, and chiefly, it is believed, from persons willing to support the candidates for office in favour of the existing administration, as all of them have votes, and most of them are active partisans at all the general and local elections.

CHAP. XXIX.

Area and productions of the State of Mississippi—Tabular view of white and black population—Cultivation of cotton—Names of towns and cities—Indian mounds near Natchez, probably of Mexican origin—Natchez tribe of Indians, worshippers of the sun—Idols, of Asiatic features, found—Recent celebration of a great Festival of the Sun—Resemblances to Mexican, Egyptian, and Syrian rites—Traces of a Welsh settlement on Red river—Expedition of the Welsh prince, Madoc, to America—Enormous bone of an extinct Mammoth dug up—Mastodon, Megatherium, and Megalonyx—Behemoth—Geology—Mineral springs—Education—Dread of Abolition principles being learnt in the North—Churches, sects, ministers, and members—Murders, duels, assaults, and incendiary fires.

THE State of Mississippi, though formed out of what originally belonged to Louisiana and Georgia, is of considerable extent, being in average length 300 miles, and breadth 160, covering therefore an area of about 48,000 square miles, or nearly 30,000,000 of acres. Its boundaries are, on the north, the State of Tennessee; on the south, the State of Louisiana and the Gulf of Mexico; on the east, the State of Alabama; and on the west, the great river from whence it derives its name, the Mississippi. This magnificent stream washes its western border, by its serpentine windings, for nearly 700 miles, though in a straight line its length is just 300.

The richness of the soil, the warmth of the climate, and the abundance of the large rivers and smaller streams that intersect and diversify its sur-

face, cannot fail to make this State, at no distant period, one of the most productive of the Union. All that it needs for this purpose, is capital and population, and these are sure to flow into it with constantly accelerating force. The southern portion of the State, from the Gulf of Mexico upwards, is generally a level country, with a few slightly elevated hills. This is at present nearly covered with the primeval forests of pine, interspersed with marsh-grounds and cypress-trees, as well as open prairies of grass and flowers without wood. Every part of it, however, is capable of cultivation, and favourable to the growth of cotton, corn, indigo, sugar, and garden vegetables, as well as of oranges, lemons, figs, grapes, peaches, apples, plums, and cherries. The central and northern parts are more elevated and agreeably diversified; and here the forests consist of the oak, the elm, the hickory, the black walnut, the sugar maple, and other useful trees. Wherever the ground is cleared, the productiveness of the soil is equal to that of any part of the valley of the Mississippi, and its healthiness not inferior to any; though the climate is more subject to extremes in the northern portions, than near the sea; the mean summer temperature being about 85° ; but the thermometer sometimes going above 100° ; and in the vicinity of Natchez, snow is often seen in winter, and the thermometer has fallen to 12° .

Not long since, more than half the territory of the State belonged to the Chickasaw and Choctaw Indians; but their lands have all been ceded to the general government, in return for payments in money, annuities, and grants of new lands east of the Missis-

ssippi, to which they have been transferred, the last detachment having left the territory in the past year. The only remaining Indians now in the State, are a miserable remnant of the most ancient and powerful of all the south-western tribes, that of Natchez, after whom the town was named.

The State is divided into fifty-six counties, of which the following statistics as to population, free and slave, area in cultivation, and amount of production, may be acceptable.

Counties.	Free Whites.	Slaves.	Cultivated Acres.	Produce in Bales of Cotton.
Adams . . .	5,290	1,3228	70,913	34,964
Claiborne . .	3,126	8,872	56,049	25,183
Hurds . . .	7,501	13,929	85,512	26,426
Jefferson . . .	2,260	8,290	50,097	22,031
Madison . . .	3,625	11,238	87,746	30,873
Warren . . .	5,265	10,110	49,718	25,132
Wilkinson . .	3,272	8,160	57,972	30,579
Yazoo	3,433	7,680	63,099	23,453

The total result of the census and statistics of the State from which these selections are made, as taken by official authority in 1837, are these—

White Inhabitants.....	144,351	Acres in cultivation	1,048,530
Negro Slaves	164,393	Bales of Cotton produced ...	317,783

In the names chosen for the principal towns of the State, there is the same want of originality, and the same imitation of Greek, Roman, British, and other European names, as is seen in most of the other States, of which the following, taken from the coast-towns, may serve as specimens—

Aberdeen.	Camden.	Lebanon.	MountOlympus
Amsterdam.	Canton.	Liberty.	Pharsalia.
Athens.	Carthage	Lincoln.	Philadelphia.
Auburn.	Coffeeville.	Manchester.	Sardinia.
Augusta	CottonGinPort	Miltonville.	Troy.
Caledonia.	Kosciusko.	Mount Carmel.	Utica.

Among the antiquities of Mississippi—for new as it is, as an organized and civilized State, it is, of course, old as an inhabited country—are some highly interesting mounds, constructed, it is believed, by a race anterior to the tribes of Indians found here by the Europeans, on their first visit to this continent; as they evince an advance in the arts of building and fortification, to which the existing race of the North American Indians never seem to have attained. Among these are many which on being opened have been found to contain skeletons and skulls, with teeth so well preserved, that they have been used as artificial teeth by dentists. Near the junction of the Nanny, Warrior, and Tallehaga creeks, is a large mound, the height of which is fifty feet, and its sides are nearly perpendicular. It is of an oblong shape, and on the top contains an area of level land about one hundred yards long and fifty wide; at a distance of a few hundred yards from this mound, an embankment is thrown up from three to five feet high, surrounding the mound in the form of a circle. The embankment surrounds an area of between two and three hundred acres. The whole bears an appearance of great antiquity. Large trees are standing both on the mound and the embankment that surrounds it. On the plantation of the Rev. Asa Chadic, near Euculta creek, are two large

mounds which possess great interest. They stand like opposing fortresses about two hundred yards apart, with huge trees growing on their summits. As both the mounds are full of human bones, apparently deposited at the same time, it has been conjectured that this was the scene of a mighty battle, in which thousands upon thousands were slain, and, as enemies when living, so buried apart when dead. This is rendered extremely probable by the following facts. The country between the Tombigbee and the Black Warrior was a "Neutral Ground" between the Choctaws and Creeks. Few traces remain of its former possessors, except certain mounds in the southern part of the county. By whom, and for what purpose, they were thrown up, is unknown. Probably by a people who inhabited the country before the present race of Indians. The Choctaws have a tradition that their fathers emigrated westwardly, till they came to this, the goodliest land they had ever seen; that being determined to possess it, they waged desperate war with the occupant tribe; and at last, in a dreadful battle, defeated and exterminated them, glutting their tomahawks with slaughter. The Oktibbeha, or "Fighting Water," was the boundary between the Choctaws and Chickasaws, and its banks were often the scene of fierce and deadly conflicts.

The most remarkable, and best known, however, of all these Indian mounds, is one not more than nine miles north-east of Natchez, near the spot called Silver-town, a projection of which was kindly made for me, by Lieutenant Forshay, recently professor of mathematics and civil engineering, in the

Jefferson College, of this State, and whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make while at Natchez. The area occupied by this mound covers about eleven acres in space. It is between an oblong and a square, having its longest line from east to west, and its shortest from north to south, and nearly fronting the cardinal points of the horizon. At its north-western and south-western angles, project out two causeways, rounded like horns, with smaller elevated mounds or outposts rising from them. On the eastern side, is an exactly similar horned causeway, with smaller mounds on it, the whole exhibiting great uniformity. The central height of the lower and principal mound or platform, varies from thirty to fifty feet; and these causeways slope down from it, to twenty, fifteen, ten, and seven feet above the surrounding level. Across and underneath this larger mound, intersecting it from north to south, appears originally to have passed a coveredway, parts of which are still perfect and parts fallen in.

Above the lower mound, and near its western edge, is raised a smaller square mound, with steep sloping sides, thirty-eight feet above its own base, and eighty-eight above the lower level of the surrounding soil. Near the opposite or eastern edge of the lower mound, is a smaller elevation, triangular in shape, and raised ten feet above its own base, or fifty feet above the general level of the surrounding ground. And near the north and south edge of the lower mound, are two crescent-mounds, corresponding to each other, having their straight or flattened faces or sides outward, and their convex or projecting faces inwards towards each other. They are each elevated

about seven feet above their own bases, the northern one, standing on a part of the large mound, which is forty-five feet above the ground, is consequently fifty-two feet above the general level; and the southern one standing on a part of the large mound, which is thirty feet above the ground, is consequently thirty-seven feet above the general level. In this southern crescent-mound, a globular vase or urn was found, which I saw, and thought it as good in shape and material, as many of the old Greek and Etruscan vases. Its decoration was a series of circles and waving lines on the outer surface, impressed on the clay while soft, but without varnish or colour, and the whole had no doubt been hardened by the operation of fire. In the triangular mound, on the eastern side, many skeletons had been found, and a skull in good preservation, which we saw in the Natchez Museum. This was the skull of an individual whose head had been artificially flattened behind, by pressure in infancy; and not before, or at the sides, as is the custom with the race of Indians called Flatheads, living near the Rocky Mountains, at the present day.

Among the various conjectures to which this mound has given rise, the most probable seems to me to be that of Professor Forshay, who conceives it to be the work of some ancient race of Indians, that had penetrated this part of the country from Mexico, and brought with them the taste for erecting large structures, and the knowledge of the art of making them. He thinks it may have been a union of a rude temple to the sun, and a fort of defence. It is remarkable that the Natchez tribe, by far the oldest of all those

settled in these parts, preserved a tradition of their ancestors having come from the south, and having worshipped the sun, though they had no memorial, knowledge, or tradition, as to the race by whom this mound was constructed.*

Of more recent works of man, yet still belonging to the antiquities of this new country, there are some near the Pascagoula Bay, on the edge of the Gulf of Mexico. This spot was settled by the French, at least twenty years before they founded New Orleans; and these antiquities existed there on their first settlement, of which the following account is given in "Besancon's Register of the State of Mississippi."

"On the eastern shore of this bay, near its mouth, are the ruins of an ancient fortification, apparently built many centuries ago. It appears to have been built chiefly of sea-shells. Within this ruin, several feet beneath the surface, have been found fire-coals, and fragments of a peculiar kind of earthenware, together with many human bones; amongst them were discovered parts of a human skeleton of gigantic proportions. The upper part of the skull was said to be sufficiently large to fit loosely over the largest heads. All traces of an historical nature of its origin have long since disappeared. There is, however, a tradition still extant amongst the old French settlers on the bay, said to be derived from the aborigines who inhabited the coast on its first settlement by the French, that this fortification was built by a tribe of Indians long since extinct, known as the Biluxies. According to the legend, this tribe were at war with a more powerful neighbouring tribe. After many successive defeats they were driven to the sea-shore, where they built this fortification; they were closely and vigorously besieged for a considerable time, till their supplies became

* The reader who is acquainted with the works executed by the ancient Britons in England, will see many striking resemblances between this Indian structure, and the enclosure called Maiden Castle, near Dorchester.

exhausted, and they were reduced to the last extremity. Hope having deserted them, in a fit of despair they marched into the ocean, and all perished.

“In the neighbourhood of this ruin is frequently heard a most extraordinary and strange music. It can be heard during the summer months only, and on the most calm and serene evenings, usually soon after sunset ; it is said to be truly melodious, resembling several instruments in concert ; the most perfect harmony seems to exist in its varied cadence, though no peculiar notes or instruments are imitated. The sound appears to have no peculiar or limited bounds, but seems to be transitory, sometimes appearing to be in the water, and, immediately changing its position, seems to be transferred to the atmosphere ; approaching and receding at intervals, sometimes dying away for some minutes, and then suddenly reviving with increased energy. The length of time that this mysterious nocturnal music continues, is various and irregular ; sometimes but momentary, again it will continue for hours, and lingering, leave the ear so slowly that it will long dwell in fancy, and the delusion will last till we are almost led to believe that it exists only in imagination ; and, were it not supported by the evidence of undoubted testimony, it would be difficult to give credit to such a seeming phantasy.”

On the same authority, we learn some details respecting another very singular work, supposed to be of still higher antiquity than those just described, and of which the following account is given—

“In the south-western part of the county of Rankin, on the premises of a Mr. Cryer, there is a singular platform or floor of hewn stone, evidently artificial, which bears the marks of having been constructed in remote antiquity. This platform, as far as can be ascertained, is about sixty feet in width, and one hundred and twenty in length ; when first discovered, it was entirely covered with earth ; it was not until the superjacent earth had been cultivated for some time with the plough, that it was found. It is near a small branch at the foot of a small hill on its eastern declivity. It commences a few feet from the branch, and runs

horizontally into the hill, its longitude is nearly north and south, parallel with the branch ; its western side, or that one next to the hill, is covered two or three feet deep with soil, on which there are pines and oaks from two to two-and-a-half feet in thickness, which will show it to be of great age ; the eastern part of it near the branch, where it was first exposed, was covered only a few inches with soil. It consists of a single layer of hewn rock—the first courses of rock next to the branch, are eight feet in length, as are all the rest, about two or two-and-a-half in breadth, and about four or five inches in thickness ; at one of the corners there appears to have been a deficiency in one of the rocks, which is neatly supplied with a piece of the same thickness as the rest, of a wedgelike shape, accurately and tightly fitted in. The remaining rows or courses of rock are of the same length and thickness precisely, but differ from the first course in being about four feet in breadth.”

The subject of Indian antiquities is one into which the posterity of this country will no doubt penetrate much deeper than the existing generation, who are all too busily occupied in providing for their first wants, or accumulating fortunes for their children, to devote any time or attention to the pursuit of so profitless an inquiry. But in a few generations hence, the leisure which will be possessed by many, and the learning of not a few, will undoubtedly be employed to work this rich and hitherto almost unexplored mine of antiquarian treasures. In the mean while, it is to be regretted that every year the memorials of past ages are being demolished, and disappearing. The interesting mound of Natchez, at Silver-town, for instance, is at present cultivated all over its surface with cotton ; and so long as this is profitable, the owner will probably continue to do so, till, under the operation of the plough, the harrow, and the hoe, it will ultimately be levelled to the ground. Some

of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, desirous of preserving it from this fate, proposed to the proprietor, that he should discontinue the planting of cotton on it, and substitute the sowing of Bermuda grass, which has the peculiar property of spreading its roots so wide and deep, that it binds together the loosest soil, and makes it as compact as a cemented substance. This they thought would keep it together for centuries ; but whether it will be done or not, is very doubtful, to say the least. In proportion, however, as such works are liable to be destroyed, it is the duty of the present generation to collect, with as much industry and accuracy as possible, detailed accounts and measurements of such as still exist ; as well as descriptions of the manners and customs of the races of Indians fast becoming extinct ; for the day will come, when an Indian mound, or temple, or fortification, will be as rare in America, as a Stonehenge is in England ; and when an Indian chief, or warrior, will be as much a personage of the past, as the ancient Briton, the Bard, or the Druid.

In a work published at Albany, in 1834, entitled “American Antiquities and Discoveries in the West,” the following statements are made—

“An idol was, a few years since, dug up in Natchez, on the Mississippi, on a piece of ground where, according to tradition, long before Europeans visited this country, stood an Indian temple. This idol is of stone, and is nineteen inches in height, nine inches in width, and seven inches thick at the extremities. On its breast, as represented on the plate of the idol, were five marks, which were evidently characters of some kind, resembling, as supposed, the Persian ; probably expressing, in the language of its authors, the name and supposed attributes of the senseless god of stone.

“The ancestors of our northern Indians were mere hunters ; while the authors of our tumuli were shepherds and husbandmen. The temples, altars, and sacred places of the Hindoos were always situated on the banks of some stream of water. The same observation applies to the temples, altars, and sacred places of those who erected our tumuli. To the consecrated streams of Hindostan, devotees assembled from all parts of the empire, to worship their gods, and purify themselves by bathing in the sacred waters. In this country, their sacred places were uniformly on the banks of some river ; and who knows but the Muskingum, the Sciota, the Miami, the Ohio, the Cumberland, and the Mississippi, were once deemed as sacred, and their banks as thickly settled, and as well cultivated, as are now those of the Ganges, the Indus, and the Burrampooter.

“Some years since, a clay vessel was discovered, about twenty feet below the surface, in alluvial earth, in digging a well near Nashville, Tennessee, and was found standing on a rock, from whence a spring of water issued. This vessel was taken to Peale’s museum, at Philadelphia. It contains about one gallon ; was circular in its shape, with a flat bottom, from which it rises in a somewhat globose form, terminating at the summit with the figure of a female head ; the place where the water was introduced or poured out, was on the one side of it, nearly at the top of the globose part. The features of the face are Asiatic ; the crown of the head is covered by a cap of pyramidal figure, with a flattened circular summit, ending at the apex with a round button. The ears are large, extending as low as the chin. The features resemble many of those engraved for Raffles’s History of Java : and the cap resembles Asiatic headdresses.”

But perhaps the most striking confirmation of the view entertained respecting the high antiquity of many of these remains, and of the worship of the sun, as connecting the Indians of some parts of the Mississippi with those of Mexico and Peru, and these again with the Asiatic nations, by whom the sun was adored as a god, whether under the form of

Apollo as among the Greeks, Osiris among the Egyptians, or Baal among the Phœnicians, is to be found in the account of a religious festival, witnessed by Mr. Ash, among a tribe of Indians now inhabiting the banks of the Ozark, or Arkansas river, which discharges itself from the west into the Mississippi, not far above Natchez, and gives its name to the State through which it flows. He states, that he arrived at the settlement or camp of these Indians, when about 900 persons, the united remnants of several nations or tribes almost extinct, had assembled to celebrate this great festival; and he had the most favourable opportunity of witnessing their adorations at the three stages of the rising—the meridian—and the setting sun. The following is his description of it—

“The morning was propitious, the air serene, the horizon clear, the weather calm. The nations divided into classes; warriors, young men and women, and married men with their children. Each class stood in the form of a quadrant, that each individual might behold the rising luminary, and each class held up a particular offering to the sun, the instant he rose in his glory. The warriors presented their arms, the young men and women offered ears of corn and branches of trees, and married women held up to his light their infant children. These acts were performed in silence, till the object of their adoration visibly rose; when, with one impulse, the nations burst into praise, and sung a hymn in loud chorus. The lines, which were sung with repetitions, and marked by pauses, were full of sublimity and judgment. Their meaning, when interpreted, is as follows:

“Great Spirit! master of our lives. Great Spirit! master of things visible and invisible, and who daily makes them visible and invisible. Great Spirit! master of every other spirit, good or bad; command the good to be favourable to us, and deter the bad from the commission of evil. O Grand Spirit! preserve the

strength and courage of our warriors, and augment their number, that they may resist the oppression of the Spanish enemies, and recover the country, and the rights of our fathers. O Grand Spirit! preserve the lives of such of our old men as are inclined to give counsel and example to the young. Preserve our children, multiply their number, and let them be the comfort and support of declining age. Preserve our corn and our animals, and let no famine desolate the land. Protect our villages, guard our lives. O Great Spirit! when you hide your light behind the western hills, protect us from the Spaniards, who violate the night, and do evil which they dare not commit in the presence of your beams. Good Spirit! make known to us your pleasure, by sending to us the Spirit of Dreams. Let the Spirit of Dreams proclaim your will in the night, and we will perform it through the day; and if it say the time of some be closed, send them, Master of Life! to the great country of souls, where they may meet their fathers, mothers, children, and wives, and where you are pleased to shine upon them with a bright, warm, and perpetual blaze! O Grand! O Great Spirit! hearken to the voice of *nations*, hearken to all thy children, and remember us always, for we are descended from thee.

“Immediately after this address, the four quadrants formed one immense circle, of several deep, and danced and sung hymns descriptive of the power of the sun, till near ten o'clock. They amused and refreshed themselves in the village and camp, but assembled precisely at the hour of twelve, and, forming a number of circles, commenced the adoration of the meridian sun. The following is a *literal* translation of the mid-day address.

“‘Courage, nations! courage! the Great Spirit looks down upon us from his highest seat, and by his lustre appears content with the children of his own power and greatness. Grand Spirit! how great are his works, and how beautiful are they! How good is the Great Spirit! He rides high to behold us. ’Tis he who causes all things to augment and to act. He even now stands for a moment to hearken to us. Courage, nations! courage! The Great Spirit, now above our heads, will make us vanquish our enemies; he will cover our fields with corn, and increase the

animals of our woods. He will see that the old be made happy and that the young augment, He will make the nations prosper, make them rejoice, and make them put up their voice to him, while he rises and sets in their land, and while his heat and light can thus gloriously shine out.'

"This was followed by dancing and hymns, which continued from two to three hours, at the conclusion of which, dinners were served and eaten with great demonstrations of mirth and hilarity. Mr. Ash says he dined in a circle of chiefs, on a barbecued hog, and venison very well stewed, and was perfectly pleased with the repast. The dinner, and repose after it, continued till the sun was on the point of setting. On this being announced by several who had been on the watch, the nations assembled in haste, and formed themselves into segments of circles, in the face of the sun, presenting their offerings during the time of his descent, and crying aloud, 'The nations must prosper; they have been beheld by the Great Spirit. What more can they want? Is not that happiness enough? See, he retires, great and content, after having visited his children with light and universal good. O Grand Spirit! sleep not long in the gloomy west, but return and call your people once again to light and life, to light and life, to light and life.'"

It is impossible not to be struck with the resemblance of this to what is recorded of the Mexicans and Peruvians, in the interesting histories of these people by Las Casas, and others contemporary with the Spanish discoveries and conquests; as well as with the lamentations of the Egyptians for the death of Osiris, and their joy at his resurrection into life, and the mourning of the Syrians for the death of Adonis, so eloquently and beautifully described by Milton, in the *Paradise Lost*—all originating in the same fears of losing the warm and beneficent influence of the solar beams, as suggested by the early dread of those who in the first ages saw the sun

receding farther and farther from them in the winter, and desired to reassure themselves of his return to them again in the spring.

These western regions of the valley of the Mississippi contain, however, the remnants of other races besides those of the Indian, or, as it is believed, Tartar and Asiatic stock; for in Priest's American Antiquities, before quoted, the following passage is found—

“It is reported by travellers in the West, that on the Red river, which has its origin north of Spanish Texas, but empties into the Mississippi, running through Louisiana, that on this river, very far to the southwest, a tribe of Indians has been found, whose manners, in several respects, resemble the Welsh, especially in their marriage and funeral ceremonies. They call themselves the M'Cedus tribe, which having the Mc or Mac attached to their name, points evidently to an European origin, of the Celtic description. It is further reported by travellers, that north-west from the headwaters of the Red river, which would be in the region called the Great American Desert, Indians have come down to the white settlements, some thirty or forty years since, who spoke the Welsh language quite intelligibly. These Indians, bearing such strong evidence of Welsh extraction, may possibly be descended from the lost colony from Wales, an account of which is given in Powel's History of Wales, in the twelfth century; which relates, that in the year 1170, Madoc, son of Owen Groynwedk, Prince of Wales, dissatisfied with the situation of affairs at home, left his country, as related by the Welsh historian, in quest of some new place to settle. And leaving Ireland to the north, proceeded westward, till he discovered a fertile country; where leaving a colony, he returned, and, persuading many of his countrymen to join him, put to sea with *ten ships*, and was never more heard of.

“Western settlers have received frequent accounts of a nation inhabiting at a great distance up the Missouri, in manners and appearance resembling the other Indians, but speaking Welsh, and retaining some ceremonies of the Christian worship; and, at

length, says Imlay in his work entitled 'Imlay's America,' this is universally believed to be a fact.

"Near the falls of Ohio, six brass ornaments, such as soldiers usually wear in front of their belts, were dug up, attached to six skeletons. They were cast metal, and on one of them which was brought to Cincinnati, was represented a mermaid playing upon a harp, which was the ancient coat of arms for the principality of Wales. The traditions from the oldest Indians, is, that it was at the falls of the Ohio that the first white people were cut off by the natives.

"It is well authenticated, that upwards of thirty years ago, Indians came to Kaskaskia, in the Territory, now the State of Illinois, who spoke the Welsh dialect, and were perfectly understood by two Welshmen then there, who conversed with them. From information to be relied on, tombstones, and other monuments of the existence of such a people, have been found, with the year engraved, corresponding very nearly to that given above, being in the twelfth century."

As tribes and nations of the human race have become extinct in the progress of ages in this great continent; so, various species of animals have shared the same fate; though these also have left behind them such proofs of their size and form, as not only to place their existence beyond a doubt, but to enable those skilled in comparative anatomy, to delineate their very shapes. One of the most recent discoveries of this kind happened not far from hence; and is thus described in Priest's "Discoveries in the West."

"The remains of a monster recently discovered on the banks of the Mississippi, in Louisiana, seventeen feet under-ground, may be considered as the greatest wonder of the West. The largest bone, which was thought to be the shoulder-blade, or jaw-bone, is twenty feet long, three broad, and weighed 1,200 pounds. The aperture in the vertebræ, or place for the pith of the back-

bone, is six by nine inches calibre ; supposed, when alive, to have been 125 feet in length ! The awful and tremendous size of what this creature must have been, to which this shoulder-blade or jaw-bone belonged, when alive, is almost frightful to think of. It must have been a water animal."

Mr. Jefferson, in his Notes on Virginia, supposes that such animals as this, called by the general name of the mastodon or mammoth, may still exist in the deep and untrodden wilds and forests of the Northwest Territory, where the Indians have a notion of its having retired for want of game or food in the civilized parts inhabited by man, as is the case to a certain extent with the buffalo of the Western prairies, now driven almost to the foot of the Rocky Mountains ; and the hippopotami of Egypt, which, less than a century ago, were seen near Cairo, but are now not met with anywhere below the Cataracts of the Nile, at a distance of more than 600 miles from the sea. But the more general and the more probable opinion is, that the race is altogether extinct. Dr. Harman, in his *Fauna Americana*, states, that fossil remains have been found of eleven species of animals which no longer exist in a living state either in this country or in any other. It is worthy of remark, that in a large cave on the banks of the Ohio, 20 miles below the junction of the Wabash, among many curious hieroglyphics, are found rude delineations of certain animals of this description graven on the rock, and of these there are three which are said to resemble the elephant, the tails and the tusks only excepted. The Baron Cuvier in his "Discourse on the Revolutions of the Surface of the

Globe," speaks of the *Megatherium*, whose frame must have been of vast solidity, as found only in the sandy strata of North America ; and of the *Megalonix*, somewhat resembling it, whose bones have been found in certain caverns in Virginia, and in an island on the coast of Georgia. But the principal remains found have been those of the Great Mastodon, whom the Baron describes as being "as tall in proportion as the elephant, with tusks not less enormous, and whose grinders, full of sharp points, have caused it to be taken for a carnivorous animal." It is clear, however, that the enormous bone found on the banks of the Mississippi, weighing 1200 lbs. and belonging to an animal at least 125 feet in length, must have been part of a creature much larger than either of those named by Cuvier.

The height of the skeleton in the Museum at Philadelphia, is eleven feet, yet its whole frame weighs only 1000 lbs. and one of its teeth 4 lbs. 10 oz. At Cincinnati, however, has been found the tooth of an animal, in shape not unlike that of the skeleton in the Philadelphia Museum, weighing 25 lbs ; and it has been well inferred, that if the same relative proportions were preserved in the weight and altitude of the animal to which this belonged, it could not have weighed less than 5,000 lbs ; or been less than 40 feet in height, and 100 feet in length. In the stomach of one of these huge creatures was found, according to the statement of the Baron Cuvier, "the crushed branches of a tree ;" and Priest has remarked, with great truth, that a forest of trees would soon be nibbled to their roots by a herd of

such animals as these ; so that even the Western continent itself would prove a small enough pasture for a moderate number of them.

Whether this was the Behemoth of the Scriptures, or not, it is impossible not to recur to the description given of this lord of the forest in his day, by Job. "Behold now, Behemoth, which I made unto thee ; he eateth grass like an ox. Lo, now, his strength is in his loins, and his force in the navel of his belly. He moveth his tail like a cedar ; the sinews of his loins are wrapped together. His bones are as strong pieces of brass : his bones are like bars of iron. He is the chief of the ways of God." That this was not an animal of Arabia, or Uz, or Edom, or Idumea, the countries of Job's immediate residence and neighbourhood, is more than probable ; though the thick forests of Asia, along the banks of the then unpeopled Tigris and Euphrates, may have been among its haunts ; and from the farther extremity of the Asiatic continent it may have passed, like the Tartar tribes, the progenitors of the present and preceding races of Indians, into this country. But the subject is too extensive to be pursued.

Of natural curiosities, and geological formations, there are some interesting specimens. In Rankin county there are found many petrifications of large trunks of trees, lying horizontally in limestone cliffs ; and a large fossil fish, two feet in length, was taken out of the bluff or cliff of limestone, thirty feet above its base. On digging to the depth of thirty feet, in almost every part of the State, a bed of marine shells is found, which continues downward to the greatest depth to which wells have ever been

sunk here ; and in Marshall county there is a large bed of limestone, which is filled with fossil shells in great variety.

Mineral springs also abound in various parts of the State. Of these the principal is in Hurd's county, in the midst of a hilly and elevated tract of country, about twelve miles from Jackson city, the present seat of government. Among these are some that yield sulphate of magnesia, sulphate of iron, and carbonate of soda ; and these, with the sulphur springs of Madison county, are now frequented by invalids, and establishments for their accommodation are growing up rapidly around them.

In its provision for education, the State of Mississippi is making great efforts, from a desire to prevent, as much as possible, the Southern youth from going to the colleges of the North for instruction. On this subject there is the same feverish anxiety manifested as at Charleston, lest the young men of the Slave States, by being educated in the Free, should imbibe more liberal notions, and become Abolitionists, for this is in reality the cause of alarm, however much and artfully it may be disguised. An address to the public, from the trustees of Jefferson College—the principal establishment for education in the State—was published during our stay at Natchez, on the 25th of April ; and as it will give an accurate idea of the course of studies prescribed for the rising youths of the State, as well as confirm the opinion given as to the anxiety of the authorities to prevent them from going to the colleges of the North, and their reasons for this anxiety, I present a few extracts only from this address—

“ADDRESS TO THE PUBLIC.—The Trustees of Jefferson College at Washington, Mississippi, have the satisfaction to announce to the public, that the institution is now prepared for the reception of students. Upon its reorganization, some exposition of its prospects will be naturally expected, and it is with great satisfaction that the Trustees are enabled to declare, that at no period of its history have their anticipations been so sanguine as to its stability and success.

“At the head of the College is the Reverend A. Stephens, who fills the chair of ancient languages. In this gentleman are united the accomplishments of a thorough philologist, and an elegant belles lettres scholar; he filled the chair of ancient languages in the university of Nashville with brilliant reputation. In addition to the high commendations of President Lindsley of that institution—sufficient in themselves to place the abilities of their subject beyond all cavil—he is among the first to carry into successful practice in our colleges, if not to introduce, the recent improvements by German scholars in philology, which has reduced, in an extraordinary manner, the irregularities of the Greek grammar; and his address upon the effects of education, and their influence on our republican institutions, have elicited the general admiration of the first scholars and critics of the nation.

“To the President is also committed the departments of rhetoric and belles lettres, of intellectual and moral philosophy, and their kindred branches.

“In the former, to the study of the standard and established authors, will be added the improvements of Whately, including logic; and in philosophy, the tenets of Locke and his school, designated as the sensual system, will not be entirely followed, but the corrections of later writers of Scotland, Germany, and France will be adopted. The student will be aided in his researches by the views of Stewart, Reid, Kant, and Cousins, and the eclectic system of the last-named philosopher will be the basis of the course.

“Under the supervision of the President also, the classes are to be thoroughly exercised in composition, declamation, and debate; branches of study which under our free institutions are indispensable to every citizen, and which have at all times been but too much neglected.

“ Chemistry will be taught upon the most approved plan, and illustrated by practical experiments, with which the students will be themselves familiarized. Instruction in mineralogy and geology, branches of education every day gaining importance and favour, will be given, with the aid of a cabinet of minerals and fossils, with which the professor is amply provided. Exploring excursions will be made by him in company with the students, for practical experiments; and botany and natural history, so nearly allied, will on such occasions as opportunity permits, become objects of study and explanation.

“ For exercise, in place of gymnastics, the military drill will be substituted, and practised daily by all students. For the attainment or preservation of health, and the acquisition of graceful motion and manly bearing, no means have been found superior in its results, or more agreeable to the student.

“ To the young, of whatever nation, *home education and home discipline*, are of lasting moment. Destined as they are, at no distant day, to direct the government of the country, it is essential that they should be identified with their fellow-citizens, that they should imbibe public opinion, and be imbued with the spirit of the laws which wisdom and experience have framed for the prosperity of the State.

“ At this very moment, a formidable contest has commenced between the North and the South, from the possible results of which the eye of the patriot instinctively revolts. The issue can only be known to the great Disposer of all things; but it surely becomes us to preserve our children from any influence that might mislead their judgment or weaken their patriotism. To do this effectually, WE MUST KEEP THEM AT HOME !”

Of churches and ministers in the state of Mississippi, there are at present seven episcopal, with the ritual and doctrines of the Church of England, presided over by a newly-appointed bishop, the Rev. Dr. Polk, a most intelligent and gentlemanly man, with whom I had the pleasure to pass an agreeable hour at the house of the rector, Mr. Page. The

bishop had recently been in England, and was charmed with all he saw, and especially with the improved condition of the English church and clergy. He was about setting out for Texas with the rector, on an exploring tour, to see whether any opening presented itself for the establishment of a Protestant Episcopal Church, in that new and rising republic. The Methodist Episcopal Church has eight districts, with about six ministers to each. The Baptist Association is by far the most extensive, as it comprehends 155 churches, 78 ordained ministers, and 7 licentiates, though the number of the baptized is only 231, and of attending members of congregations 4668, or not more than about 30 attending members to each church, and less than 3 baptized members to each minister or teacher. The Presbyterians have 39 churches, 35 ministers, and 4 licentiates, but there is no register of their congregations.

There is yet a large field for education and religion to work upon, before the population of Mississippi will be as orderly as that of the North, if that indeed can ever happen, so long as the cherished institution of slavery exists; for while every family in which there are domestic slaves, and every plantation on which there are working hands, furnishes a school in which the rising white youths learn, both by theory and practice, how to give loose to their most unbridled passions, and are unchecked either by precept or example, in the full exercise of their power over those whom they have bought and paid for, and therefore use as they see fit—there is little hope that they will learn to curb their vindictive feelings, when aroused by any circumstance arising out of

their intercourse with their own class. The papers of Natchez, even in the short space of the few days that we passed there, literally teemed with the records of excesses of all kinds, murders, duels, affrays, acts of incendiarism, and crimes which would make up a calendar too large for a month in any country but this ; I give only a few of the many that came under my eye in less than a week, from April 22 to 26.

“**AFFRAY.**—We regret to observe in the Caddo Free Press, an account of a rencontre which took place at Natchitoches, between General Bossier, senator from that district, and Mr. D. S. Burnett, ex-sheriff of the parish of Natchitoches. Two pistols were fired, by which General Bossier was severely and Mr. Burnett slightly wounded. The cause of the quarrel is not stated.”

“**ANOTHER ATROCIOUS MURDER** was perpetrated at Richmond, Madison parish, Louisiana, about 100 miles above this city, on the 15th inst. A few days before, a dispute had taken place relative to the shipment of some cotton. On that day, a Mr. Booth, one of the parties concerned, with a pistol in his hand, suddenly accosted a Mr. Rusk, another of the individuals arrested, with, ‘Sir, I understand you have threatened my life,’ and instantly shot him through. Rusk fell, and in a few moments expired. Booth was instantly arrested by the sheriff, and committed for trial. When our informant, who witnessed the assassination, left, great excitement prevailed.”

“**AFFAIR IN VICKSBURG.**—The two Vicksburg editors had a fight with pistols on the 24th, as we have been informed. They fired three times at each other in the morning, unsuccessfully, and had to take it out at another meeting in the afternoon, when at the first fire, Major McCardle, of the ‘Whig,’ received a flesh-wound above the thigh. McCardle is a noble fellow, and we are glad that his wound is not considered dangerous.”

CHAP. XXX.

Points for commerce — City of Mississippi — Description of Natchez — Plan and buildings — Patience or indifference of hotel boarders — Public edifices — Companies — Banks — Fraudulent practices of these establishments — Bursting of the bubble — Consequent distress — Arrear of law cases in county courts — Newspapers of Natchez — Silence on Abolition — Specimen of Irish oratory Americanized.

THE two most important points in the State of Mississippi for commerce, are, at present, Natchez and Vicksburg, to which, perhaps, may be added Port Gibson and Grand Gulf. These owe their importance chiefly to their being seated on or near the banks of the Mississippi, from which Natchez has begun already to carry on a direct trade with Europe in the shipment of her cotton, ships sailing 300 miles up the river to load. One of the latest vessels cleared from hence, was the ship Talleyrand for Liverpool, taking a cargo of 2,160 bales of cotton, valued at 1,296,000 dollars, and the freight of which alone was 14,960 dollars. From Grand Gulf, another ship, the Franklin, cleared a few days before, taking 1,886 bales of cotton, worth 1,111,998 dollars, for Europe. But the spot of greatest promise in the future annals of this country for commercial operations, is, undoubtedly, the projected seaport of Mississippi, on the shore of the Gulf of Mexico, to which but a small portion of the State is contiguous. The following description of it, from the Register

of the State, before quoted, is believed, from concurring testimonies, to be perfectly accurate.

“MISSISSIPPI CITY.—The location of this great future seaport of Mississippi, and of the south-west at large, is so commanding, that it will ever be a matter of surprise that it was not sooner appropriated to the uses for which it was designed by the munificent hand of Nature. Neither New Orleans, Mobile, Pensacola, or Charleston, can hold competition with the vast natural advantages of Mississippi City, as a seaport of the first magnitude. The harbour-surveyors pronounce the capacity and safety of the anchorage to equal, if not surpass, that of any other harbour in the United States. Its freedom from either ice or rock bound shores—its protection from winds by the south-western neck of main land, and Cat, Ship, and other islands—its noble passes between Cat Island and the main land, with twenty-seven feet of water, and between Cat and Ship islands, with thirty-three feet of water, and with forty to forty-three feet of water inside—its good mud bottom—all combine to render it a safe and magnificent roadstead, where ships of the largest class can ride, sheltered and safe, within a mile of the shore. Indeed, those excellent judges of naval positions, the British, anchored their fleet in this harbour during the invasion of New Orleans in the late war. The only possible approach of storms from the south-east is guarded by a chain of islands. The water in the offing gradually shallows from the Gulf to the island-passes, where there is from twenty-seven to forty-three feet to come in with.

“The site presents a bold, firm, and dry front, from Pass Christian to the bay of Biloxi. There are no marshes nor low grounds in the rear, and it is far enough removed from the Pearl river swamps on the west, and those of Pascagoula on the east, to be entirely free of mosquitoes and miasmas from these sources. Instead of being under the necessity of retreating from this site, to find a healthful summer residence, the reverse would be the case. This coast is now the Arcadia of the south-west—the refuge of the interior, and of the delta, from summer and autumnal fevers. The luxurious and inexhaustible oyster-beds, the almost endless variety of fish in the sea, and the abundance of wild-fow

on shore, would astonish while it delighted the *gourmand*, and almost awaken life and appetite within 'the ribs of death.' The water gushes up in exhaustless profusion through the strata of sand and gravel, as pure as the rock-springs of the mountains.

"The entire shore is belted with fine groves of pine, towering in majestic pride, and of live oak, of which there are large reserves owned by the United States, as the future supplies of her navy-yards. On such a spot, and with such resources at hand, it is really wonderful that the United States have not before this located a navy-yard here, both for the facilities afforded to shipbuilding and the contiguity of the position to those seas that most require the supervision of our naval force, to prevent piracy and outrage.

"This brief description, founded on undoubted authority, gives but a faint idea of the site of the future emporium of the south-west. It always holds good, that wherever Nature has furnished inexhaustible natural resources, she has also provided an outlet for the superabundance of such natural wealth. Mississippi City is destined to be the outlet of the wealth of that proud State which bears the name of the great Nile of the West."

The city of Natchez was first incorporated in 1809, but, though only thirty years old as a city, it existed as a town a full century before, having been first settled by the French, then occupied by Spaniards, and is now inhabited wholly by Americans. It has a singular situation, not unlike that of Savannah, being seated on the top of a high land, or bluff as it is here termed, at an elevation of 175 feet above the level of the river. As you ascend the Mississippi, you land first at the small collection of houses called "Natchez under the Hill," which was formerly deemed the worst point along the whole valley for the haunt of gamblers, thieves, and ruffians of every country and state; but Vicksburg has of late borne the palm of pre-eminence in this respect. From hence you ascend by a steep road cut in the

side of the hill, and, after attaining the summit, and going about a quarter of a mile inward from the edge of the bluff or cliff, the upper town of Natchez commences.

Its plan of laying-out exhibits the same regularity that characterizes all American cities in comparison with those of Europe, the streets running nearly north and south, and east and west, crossing each other at right angles, from 60 to 80 feet in breadth, with good flag-pavements at the sides, and posts or rails at the edges of these pavements, for suspending awnings in front of the shops, or stores. The names of the streets are those so common in all other cities of this country, as, Wall-street, Pearl-street, Pine-street, State-street, Main-street, Canal-street, besides Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Fulton, and others.

The private dwellings are well built, and constructed with verandas, and furnished with gardens, so as to adapt them to the climate, the latitude being $30^{\circ} 34'$ north, and quite as warm as New Orleans. The stores are substantial, and built after the New York fashion, with granite subbasements, and brick superstructures. They are well furnished; but everything here is excessively dear, at least three times the price that similar articles might be had for in England. There are no less than twelve hotels, the principal of which are the Mansion House, the City Hotel, and the Mississippi Hotel; but so many of the population are in constant motion, and so many of the permanent residents live at hotels and boarding-houses, that even this large number, accommodating upon the average about 100 persons each, besides many private establishments capable of

receiving fifty persons each, are insufficient to supply the demand. It is, therefore, often difficult to get a sleeping-room at all, and very rarely a sitting-room ; while the table is ill attended to, the slaves who act as servants are careless, and the charges are exorbitant. Yet, in all our travels through this country, we never remember to have heard or seen any person remonstrate or complain, or utter the slightest sign of dissatisfaction, or desire of amendment ; not even in their conversation with each other, any more than in their intercourse with the landlord or the attendants. Whatever room the traveller is conducted to, he accepts it, without seeking for a better ; and whether it be clean or dirty, ill-furnished or well-furnished, single or double, it is all the same ; for no complaint of either seems ever to be made. So also at table, whether the meats be tough or tender, the dishes hot or cold, the tea or coffee good or bad ; every one seems to partake of whatever is set before him, to consume it rapidly and in silence, and then rise and retire. The most easy solution I have been able to offer of this to my own mind, is, that the great bulk of American travellers are insensible of the distinctions between clean apartments and dirty ones, privacy or publicity, good food or bad ; and like persons who have no perception of the difference of sounds in music, or who are wholly unmoved by the varied beauties of landscape or scenery, these migrating bodies seem deficient in the sense of appreciating good, or discovering evil, in the matter of accommodation, lodging, and food. If it be not this, then they must be the most patient and contented persons in the world ; or their minds must be so

entirely engrossed with other considerations, in the prosecution of their various pursuits after wealth, as to make all these minor matters wholly beneath their notice.

Of public buildings in Natchez, the principal are the City Hall, Court House, and Jail, a handsome Masonic Hall, (there being two Masonic Lodges, and two fraternities of the Independent Odd Fellows, in Natchez,) a Public Market, Theatre, Hospital, Orphan Asylum, Mechanic's Hall, three handsome Banks—the Planters, the Agricultural, and the Commercial; and three churches—the Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Methodist, all of which are handsome, well-furnished, and very liberally supported.

Of incorporated companies in Natchez, there are five banking establishments; the three already named, and two others; the Mississippi and Pearl River Railroad Company, and the Mississippi Shipping Company; and all of these issue notes, though some of them are at seven, others at twelve, and others at fifteen per cent discount, even in the neighbouring States of Alabama and Louisiana. In the whole State of Mississippi there are twenty-five Banking Companies, each having branches; and their nominal capital is 62,512,000 dollars, of which, however, only 18,884,340 dollars have been paid in. This is no criterion, however, of the disposable funds commanded by such banks, to meet their engagements; as this capital paid in is often represented by a very small sum turned over several times. In proof of this, the following extract from a Natchez paper may be given—

"A NEW WAY TO GET UP A BANK.—A curious story is related by the Bank Commissioners appointed by the Legislature of Michigan, in their report, of the manner in which the Bank of Oakland was established. It appears that one W. S. Stevens, the principal owner of the concern, borrowed 5,000 dollars specie of a neighbouring bank, and sent it to the Oakland institution, to be duly credited by the cashier as capital stock paid in. He then immediately drew it out on his account, and afterwards sent his hired man with it, to be credited a second time as paid capital. This manœuvre he again repeated, thus enabling the cashier to swear that 15,000 dollars in specie had been paid in, and consequently to set the bank in operation. This accomplished, the 5,000 dollars was restored to its original owner."

This practice was very general on the establishment of banks in almost all the States of the Union, at the time when so many local banks sprung up a few years ago, after the measures of General Jackson to destroy the supremacy of the United States Bank. The facilities which this afforded to fraud, as well as to the wildest speculations, was undoubtedly the cause of much of the distress that prostrated New York, and the larger cities of the Union, a short time since, and which is now only beginning to show itself in the remoter States. This is the case in Mississippi at the present moment, where the greatest pressure for money, and the greatest depreciation of property of every kind, exists, all springing from the cause adverted to.

A gentleman of great experience, who had resided in this State for many years, assured me of the following practice as quite common a few years ago:—An individual would raise the sum of 625 dollars, and, repairing to the Land-office at Washington, would purchase with it 100 acres of uncleared land

somewhere in the States of Mississippi, Arkansas, or Missouri, at $1\frac{1}{4}$ dollar per acre. The money so paid into the Land-office, would be placed out in deposit, in one of the local banks, according to the usual practice of the government. The purchaser of the land having registered his title, and obtained the necessary certificate, would apply to this bank, and get from it an advance of the whole value of 625 dollars, on the security of the land as a mortgage, at seven or eight per cent; and with this identical money he would go a second time to the Land-office, and buy 500 acres more; in the mean while employing agents to dispose of his former purchase in small lots, and sometimes realizing a profit. He would go on repeating this operation of buying land at the government-office, and getting advances on it from the bank, for fifteen or twenty times in succession; and become thus the nominal proprietor of 10,000 acres, worth 10,250 dollars, though his original capital was only 625 dollars. Some fortunate speculators have speedily enriched themselves by subsequent sales; but, the greater part of such purchasers failed to realize while the prices were high, and are now embarrassed beyond the power of redemption.

In some of the sales effected by the sheriff, land which a few months since sold at 15 dollars an acre, now bring only 1 dollar; and negro slaves which sold formerly at 1,000 dollars, now sell for 500 dollars. There was not so much depreciation in the value of the "live stock," as these are called, as in the land, because the former could be more readily removed to some other market for sale, while the land was stationary. So far had matters proceeded

in this general depreciation, that at length a public meeting was held ; and while some advocated, as the most effectual remedy, the application of a sponge to debtor and creditor, to wipe out all old accounts, and begin anew ;* the greater number were advocates of a mere suspension of proceedings, to give time for recovery ; and some recommended the sheriff and his clerk to resign, so as to render it impossible to execute the writs issued. This hint was taken, at least in one instance, and probably in more, as will appear by the following paragraph—

“MONROE COUNTY.—RESIGNATION OF THE SHERIFF AND CLERK —The court for the county of Monroe, has been defeated by the resignation of the sheriff and clerk of the court. It will give those in debt a few months' grace, but the precedent is decidedly a bad one, and should be deprecated by all good members of society. When men are elected to fill important offices in a community, it is not expected they will surrender their posts in the hour of trial, and check the operations of the law.”—*Columbus Democrat*.

As no sheriff can be substituted to fill the post resigned, but by an election of the people, and as in most cases a certain number of votes (and that generally a large one) is necessary to make an election valid at all, the contest will of course be between debtors and creditors, as to whether a sheriff shall be elected or not. As the debtors are probably much more numerous than the creditors, the probability is that the office will remain vacant some time, and the proceedings of the court be therefore alto-

* This appears, by the latest accounts, to have been adopted, by the governor of Mississippi, under the name of “repudiation:” but this dishonest doctrine is condemned with just indignation by every other State.

gether suspended, though the extent of arrears in some of the courts may be seen from the following—

“LOWNDE’S COUNTY COURT.—There are in this county 830 cases on the appearances docket, 393 on the issue docket, and 60 on the criminal docket.”—*Mississippian*.

Notwithstanding this general and admitted distress, the theatre, the bar-rooms, and the billiard-tables are as thronged as ever; some, indeed, thought more so; as there is something in the recklessness which embarrassment and debt creates, that often leads to an increase of dissipation. Thus, at the moment when the papers are filled with these details, and when they form the topics of every circle, the races, and bets upon them, are in full vigour, as will be seen by the following, which forms the editor’s leading article in the Natchez Free Trader, of April 25, 1839—

“NATCHEZ JOCKEY CLUB RACES.—The Spring Races over the Pharsalia Course commenced yesterday. For the purse of 400 dollars there were three entries, viz. Colonel Garrison’s s. c. Lubber, Colonel Bingaman’s g. f. Band-Box, and Captain Miner’s bl. c. Doncaster. Lubber was decidedly the favourite before the first heat; and at least 2,000 dollars, to our knowledge, was staked on him against the field. Bets, too, that Doncaster would not make a heat, were freely made, and but few taken. Two to one on Band-Box beating Doncaster was often offered, and in every instance was taken up. During the interval between the heats, bets were decidedly in favour of Doncaster, but we heard of none being taken. Even bets were freely made and taken on Band-Box winning the heat from Lubber, and as far as we can learn, at least 10,000 dollars were staked on the race.”

There are two daily newspapers in Natchez, each publishing also a weekly edition, which contains all their reading matter without the advertisements.

These are the "Natchez Courier," whig ; and the "Natchez Free Trader," democratic. In the office of the former, the assistant editor was a young man from Glasgow, who had heard my lectures on the East India monopoly, in Edinburgh and Liverpool, and who had taken a lively interest in the formation of a committee at Glasgow for promoting a free trade to India and China. Thus it has happened, that I have hardly ever yet visited any town in America—from Boston to New Orleans, or from Buffalo to Natchez—without meeting some one to whom I was personally known in some other part of the world, and these recognitions have been most agreeable.

The style of newspaper writing seems to get more florid and hyperbolic, as one approaches the uncivilized borders ; and the Western editors, like what are called the Stump orators, who harangue the electors from the stumps of the newly-hewn forests in the backwood settlement, seem to think fine writing as well as fine speaking to consist in the greatest collection of high-sounding phrases.

With all the boldness, however, with which the Western and Southern editors undertake to treat of political subjects, there is one on which none of them dare to speak out, or, if they do, it can only be on one side of the question—and this is Slavery, which all uphold, defend, and justify. Here is a paragraph copied from the "Missouri Argus" by a Natchez paper, during our stay there, which sets this in the clearest light—

"Mr. Hammond, of the Cincinnati Gazette, is the only editor of his party in the West who has the courage to avow his real sentiments on Abolitionism. He has come out openly, declaring

that the Whig party are the only Abolitionists in the country, and that the Whig press everywhere should stand up to the rack, and make the same acknowledgment. Mr. H. deems the co-operation of the Eastern fanatics to be all-important to the success of Whiggery, and fears that the timid course of his brother editors on this subject may be productive of mischief. He should recollect, however, that Abolition editors in Slave States will not *dare* to avow their opinions. IT WOULD BE INSTANT DEATH TO THEM."

The environs of Natchez abound with fine mansions and well-cultivated plantations; and the most wealthy and longest-settled families reside in these. My lectures, which were delivered in the Presbyterian Church, were chiefly attended by this class, and a few of the principal families in town; and though not so numerous as the audiences at New Orleans and Mobile, it was among the most elegant, both in dress, appearance, and ease and polish of manners, that I had yet seen in the United States. The frankness of the Spanish, the courtesy of the French, and the solidity and intelligence of the English character, seemed happily blended in them, and made their society very delightful.

I should have added, that among the benevolent institutions of Natchez is one called the Hibernian Society, the object of which is to afford relief to such natives of Ireland as may require it, and it is said to accomplish its purpose faithfully and generously. The Irish emigrants in America preserve most of the generous virtues of their native island—are good fathers, good husbands, good children, and good friends.

CHAP. XXXI.

Embarkation at Natchez for New Orleans—Delightful weather—Gorgeous foliage of the woods—Songs of birds—Statistics of exports from the Mississippi—Arrival at New Orleans—Voyage by the lakes to Mobile—Passage up the Alabama to Montgomery—Injustice of travellers towards Americans—Commendable virtues of American society—Romantic night-scene on the river's banks—Morning song of birds—Concert of the woods—Trees of noble size and splendid foliage—Effects of clearing lands on health and temperature—Peculiar position of "coloured ladies" as passengers.

WE had intended proceeding from hence up the Mississippi to St. Louis ; but, from the best information we could collect, the whole of the way from hence to the mouth of the Ohio river, a distance of several hundred miles, is far less interesting than the portions above ; and it was considered by all whom we consulted, that it would be much better for us to return to New Orleans, and make an inland journey from Charleston through North and South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and the back parts of Virginia—portions of the country but little visited by foreigners, yet full of interest—and resume our examination of the upper portion of the Mississippi, till we could visit Pittsburgh, descend the Ohio to Cincinnati and Louisville, enter the great river by that route, and then ascend to St. Louis, and as much higher up the Mississippi as we thought fit. As this arrangement seemed, therefore, in every way most worthy of adoption, we determined on pursuing this route.

Accordingly on the morning of Friday, April 26, we embarked at Natchez on board the steamer, William Robinson, from Pittsburg, for New Orleans. The weather had much increased in warmth during our short stay at Natchez, the thermometer being 85° in the shade at ten A.M., with the wind from the south. The foliage was everywhere out in rich and gorgeous fulness; the grass a bright green, and flowers in great abundance and variety in every garden. We remarked, too, for the first time, the song of birds, whose delightful warblings aroused all our agreeable recollections of an English spring; while the temperature and foliage was that of our midsummer, and parasols were acceptable shelters from the heat of the sun. Light jackets and trousers were almost universally worn by the men, and persons without neckcloths and in their shirt sleeves, were seen in every street; while the broad-brimmed straw hat so constantly surmounted the head, as to remind us of the anecdote of Mr. Elliott, in his Travels in Syria, who mentions that when some of the Arab boys saw for the first time a European traveller, with such a hat on his head, they ran after him, calling out—"Come and see the father of baskets," supposing the hat to be an article of this description; while another of the party running into the opposite extreme, by having a small black hat with a very narrow brim, they shouted after him—"Behold also the father of sauce-pans," the utensil which they supposed this singular head-covering most to resemble.

At the wharf, when we embarked, there were several steam-vessels landing portions of their cargo from the upper parts of the river, and taking in

freights for below. The scene was one of great bustle, though the more busy part of the season was drawing to a close. The steamer in which we had embarked, came down from Pittsburg, a distance of nearly 2,000 miles above New Orleans; and all the way along this immense valley, which has the produce of 20,000 miles of navigable waters brought along its great highway, the traffic and intercourse was continual. The following statistics of its exports only, may give some idea of its extent—

“THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI.—The soil in the great vallies of the Mississippi and the Ohio, is undoubtedly unsurpassed in fertility, and although at the present time immense tracts of valuable land remain uncultivated, yet the productions of that beautiful country even now, show us what vast productive wealth these fertile regions will add to the resources of the country.—Some idea may be formed of the riches of this region from the annexed table of articles shipped down the river, during the year 1837, which is copied from the ‘Memphis Gazette,’ and is said to be compiled from authentic sources. The aggregate value of these productions is estimated at 20,000,000 dollars—

200,000 bales of cotton,	3,000 bales Buffalo robes,
40,000 hogsheads tobacco,	20,000 bales hay,
300,000 barrels flour,	2,000 packs deer skins,
150,000 barrels pork	2,000 kegs shot,
12,000 hogsheads bacon,	500 bales fur
5,000 hogsheads hams,	2,000 tons pig iron,
50,000 cwt. bulk pork,	500 casks flax seed,
200,000 kegs lard,	400 barrels linseed oil,
50,000 pieces bagging,	600,000 staves
50,000 coils rope,	25,000 barrels apples,
200,000 barrels corn,	3,000 barrels corn meal,
400,000 bushels corn,	500 casks cheese,
10,000 barrels beef,	2,000 barrels cider,
300,000 pigs lead,	800 boxes candles
50,000 barrels whiskey,	25,000 barrels oats,
100,000 barrels coal,	15,000 barrels potatoes.

Our voyage down the Mississippi was not attended by any event to disturb the pleasure of our way. The accommodations of the steamer were excellent, the captain peculiarly attentive and obliging, the table good, the attendants clean, and the passengers few and orderly. Among the cabin waiters was a Chinese from Canton, who had been six years absent from his home, and spoke better English than any Chinese I had ever met with, though some names were of unconquerable difficulty to him. The nearest approach, for instance, that he could make to Boston, was to call it Posen. He intended returning to Canton when he had saved up a little more money ; for, being sober and prudent, he had succeeded in accumulating several hundred dollars. When I asked him whether he would not be rejected, as one who had gone to live among barbarians, he replied, that he should smuggle himself ashore, and not let that fact be known. For this purpose he continued to retain his long tress of hair, which he wore hanging doubled up behind, and concealed under his jacket ; and he kept a suit of Chinese clothes always by him, to put on when he arrived, lest he might not be able to get them from the shore, and thus be detected.

We had quitted Natchez at twelve o'clock on Friday, and we reached the wharf, at New Orleans, at twelve o'clock on the day following, April 27th, having made the passage of 300 miles, in twenty-four hours, or nearly seventeen miles an hour, with a current of three, equal to fourteen miles an hour actual speed, and in the coolest, quietest, and most agreeable manner possible.

From New Orleans, we went by the railroad

immediately to Lake Pontchartrain, in the hope of being in time for the Mobile steamer, but were too late ; and therefore remained at the Washington Hotel, on the borders of the lake, to pass the night. The weather was still beautiful, the moon bright, and the air of the lake four or five degrees cooler than that of the city. Mosquitoes, however, had begun to make their appearance, and were the only drawback to our pleasure. At the hotel was a fierce large brown bear, just brought in from the mountains of Tennessee, with whom one only of the negroes could play familiarly, and he, by feeding and caressing him, had become quite a favourite.

The morning-song of birds awoke us with the sun ; and among them, the varied tones of the mocking-bird were conspicuous. Parties of pleasure, bound on excursions across the lake, were arriving by every train of cars during the morning, the train starting every hour. At noon we embarked in the steamer *Isabella*, for Mobile.

Our passage across the Lake Pontchartrain and Borgne, was most agreeable ; and the freshness of the sea-breeze, as we opened the Gulf of Mexico, most exhilarating. The night was so brilliant, with moon and stars in all their glory, that our voyage was one of uninterrupted enjoyment. We reached the outer roads of Mobile at sunrise ; passed up through the large fleet of fine ships still at anchor here, loading cotton for Europe, to the number of forty or fifty sail, with an equal number at the upper anchorage ; and landed at the wharf by eight o'clock, making the passage of 180 miles in twenty hours.

We remained at Mobile for three days, waiting

for a vessel to ascend the Alabama river ; and on Wednesday, the first of May, we embarked in the Medora steamer for this trip.

The vicinity of this port to Florida occasions a strong local interest to be felt in the war which has been so long carrying on between the United States troops and the Seminole tribe of Indians, a war which most people think unjust in its commencement, and which has certainly been disastrous to the Americans in its progress ; the Indians, under the leadership of a chief, who has adopted the name of Sam Jones, occupying the swamps, and bidding defiance to their pursuers. It is believed, however, that the war might have been ended long ago, were it not that contractors and other parties engaged in it have an interest in preventing its coming to a close, and therefore purposely protract it, for the sake of the emoluments they derive from it. To pacify the public mind, the rumour is every now and then repeated, that the notorious Sam Jones is at last caught, and the Florida war is ended. The following happy lines on this subject afforded great amusement ; and the satire was thought to be well merited.

“ Ever since the creation,
By the best calculation,
The Florida war has been raging,
And it's our expectation
That the last conflagration
Will find us the same contests waging !

“ And yet 'tis not an *endless* war,
As facts will plainly show,
Having been ‘ ended ’ forty times
In twenty months or so.

" Sam Jones, Sam Jones, thou *great unwhipp'd*,*
 Thou mak'st a world of bother—
 Indeed, we quite suspect thou art
 One *Davy Jones's* brother.

" " The war is ended,' comes the news,
 ' We've caught them in the gin ;
 The war is ended, past a doubt—
 Sam Jones is just come in.'

" But hark ! next day the tune we change,
 And sing a counter-strain,
 ' The war's not ended yet, for see
 Sam Jones is *out* again !'

" And ever and anon we hear
 Proclaimed in cheering tones,
 ' Our general's had'—'A battle?'—' No,
 A *talk* with Samuel Jones !'

" For aught we see, while ocean rolls,
 As though these crafty Seminoles
 Were doubly nerved and sinewed,
 Nor art nor force can e'er avail,
 But, like some modern *premium tale*,
 The war's—' to be continued.' "

We left the wharf at Mobile at six in the evening, with a fine breeze from the southward, this being the wind that blows in from the Gulf of Mexico, like the sea-breezes of the East and West Indies, all

* In America, instead of saying, " Napoleon was beaten by the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo," or, " General Packenham was beaten by General Jackson at New Orleans," the phrase in both cases would be " whipped" instead of " beaten ;" and one of the commonest sayings in the country is this—" The English have whipped all the world, and the Americans have whipped the English."

the summer, and greatly tempers the heat of the atmosphere to the feelings. Our passengers were too numerous for comfort; and not of the most agreeable description, if I except indeed one family going on to the North for health and pleasure, among whom were two highly interesting young sisters, about eighteen or twenty years of age, both born deaf and dumb, but with countenances full of animation. They conversed by the fingers with each other, and with a married sister who accompanied them, and who was not subject to the same calamity; and they appeared to enjoy the incidents of the voyage, and even the anecdotes communicated to them, with great zest and earnestness.

In the course of our way up the Alabama we had abundant occasion to observe the disagreeable peculiarities by which the manners of the middle classes in America are distinguished from those of the same classes in England. Among the gentlemen, scarcely one took off his hat on entering the cabin, but nearly all sat with their hats on, during every part of the day, except at meals; and chewing and spitting was nearly universal, brass boxes being placed in rows along the floor of the cabin, to save the carpet from defilement. At meals, considerable etiquette is manifested in waiting for the ladies, who are always placed at the head of the table; the gentlemen stand behind their chairs, and no one presumes to seat himself, however long he may be kept waiting, until the ladies appear, to take their seats first. In leaving the table, however, no such punctiliousness is observed; and while in England few gentlemen would think of rising and leaving the table before the ladies

were ready to do so, here every person rises as soon as he has finished, which is frequently in ten minutes or less, retiring from the table chewing his last mouthful as he goes, and then hastens to the forepart of the vessel, to light his cigar, the common accompaniment of every meal.

At the table, all persons convey their food to the mouth on the point of the knife, which practice, from its universality, attracts no notice except from a stranger. Silver forks are rarely seen, except at the best private tables; and the steel ones used have rarely more than two prongs. The knife has a very broad blade, and expanded round point, to take up a good knifeful of the food in use, and convey it to the mouth; and both knives and forks are set in large, rough, and uncouth handles of buck-horn, so irregular in shape, that it is difficult for any but a practised hand to hold and manage them pleasantly. The principal dishes are taken off the table, and carved or hacked on a sideboard by the negro stewards, who load the plates with so great a quantity of everything asked for, and so bury the whole in gravies or sauces, that it requires a very strong appetite to conquer the repugnance which it creates. No delicacy is observed in the mode of carving, serving, or helping the guests; and the gentlemen are all too busily occupied in despatching their own portion, to take this duty out of the servants' hands. Puddings are usually handed round in small white saucers, instead of plates, with a spoon in each, and nothing is refused. Every one seems to think it a duty to accept and be thankful for whatever is set before

him, and appears to exercise no more power of rejection or refusal, than children at school.

At breakfast and at supper—for so the evening meal at seven o'clock is usually called—coffee is more frequently used than tea ; and of tea, green is almost the only kind seen. Both are made at a sidetable by the negroes, and handed round to the guests as they are seated. High and large cups of thick white earthenware are chiefly used ; and though originally furnished with handles, three out of four will have had their handles knocked off ; but neither this, nor cracks, though sufficient to make both cups and saucers leaky, is deemed disqualification for service : so that there are generally more broken vessels than whole ones on the table. The cups, too, are invariably filled to overflowing, before either sugar or milk is added ; and this, with the leakiness from the cracks, is sure to make the saucer half full from the waste or surplus. On no single table did we ever see what is called a slopbasin, so that there is nothing at hand into which to pour this cold surplus fluid ; but the people get over the difficulty by drinking their coffee or tea out of the saucer, so that hot and cold are mingled together, and all soon disposed of.

In other matters, also, there is a great dissimilarity in the manners of the English and the Americans. In England, for instance, no person, even in the humblest ranks of life, would venture to approach a table where a gentleman was writing, to look over his papers, or take up his books for examination, without permission. But here I had been so frequently subject to the former, that I felt obliged

to give up writing anywhere but in my own bedroom, and even there I was not always safe from intrusion ; while as to the latter, persons in the rank of merchants and bankers would seat themselves at the table, take up any of the books which you might be using for perusal or reference, cut them open, read them, and sometimes even take them off to their own cabins, to read through, without asking permission, or seeming to think this at all necessary. On one occasion, when I said to a gentleman who was thus walking off with a volume which he had taken from under my very elbow—" I beg your pardon, Sir, but that is private, and does not belong to the ship, as perhaps you suppose," he coolly replied—" Oh, never mind, I only want to read it ; and when I have done with it, you shall have it again."

In mentioning all these traits of manners, I must at the same time, in justice, observe, that however disagreeable they may be to English persons, chiefly because they differ from what they are accustomed to witness in similar classes of society at home, it is not fair to consider them as acts either of vulgarity or rudeness, as they are not essentially either, though they may be conventionally so. That cannot be *vulgar* which is almost universally practised in any nation, as, for instance, eating with the fingers instead of knives and forks, as in Turkey ; though if any man were to do this in England or America, he would excite disgust ; but at Constantinople it would neither be thought indecorous nor inelegant, any more than it was among the most polished circles of Athens or Rome. And that cannot be *rude*, which does not originate either in a disregard to the feelings of

others, or an intention to wound or offend them. From this I think the Americans are more free than the people of any nation I have ever travelled in. They are almost uniformly decorous, civil, obliging, willing to yield in any matter for the accommodation of others, quiet, orderly, and inoffensive ; and neither at the hotels, nor in the steamboats, or on railroads, is the ear so often offended as it is in England, by oaths, vociferations, quarrels, complaints, bickerings among equals, and abuse of inferiors. These are here almost unknown ; and a stranger, who himself behaves with propriety, may certainly pass from one end of the United States to the other without molestation ; for those affrays, and duels, assaults, and assassinations, which are unhappily so frequent in the South, arise out of causes which do not affect the traveller who avoids the bar-rooms, gaming-houses, and places of resort for the idle and profligate.

The error which English persons commit towards Americans, is, I think, in judging them by a wrong standard. We take the manners of the best educated and most polished circles in England as the test of excellence ; and if the Americans do not come up to this, in all they say or do, we set them down as vulgar, rude, and uncivilized. But we forget, that in England, a thousand years of progressive improvement have been necessary to bring the national manners to their present state ; and, notwithstanding the fact that a very large portion of the population, including all the nobility, gentry, clergy, aided by colleges, schools of art, and intercourse with foreign nations, have been continually operating upon the general mass, as elements of refinement—while the wealth

and leisure of large numbers even of the middle classes, give them the means of assisting in this improvement—there yet remain some ten millions of the labouring classes of England, among whom may be found as much of vulgarity, rudeness, ignorance, and intemperance, as in any classes of the lowest population of this country.

If the English nobility of the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles could be raised from their graves, and transplanted to America, with no other recollections of habits or customs than of those common to the best circles in England in *their* day, they would be surprised at the comparative refinement and polish of American manners, as contrasted with these; and would award to them the palm of superiority. While it is the duty of the traveller, therefore, to note with accuracy and fidelity the real facts respecting manners as they occur, justice demands of him that he should neither impute them to motives which have no existence, nor characterize them by epithets which they do not truly deserve.

In the course of our voyage up the river, we made several halts at the landing-places of estates, to discharge supplies brought up as part of the cargo, and to take in wood. One of these halts was rendered peculiarly interesting, from the romantic and picturesque scene which it exhibited. The place of our halt was under a high bluff, or perpendicular cliff, of 200 feet in height, above which rose many lofty and full-foliaged trees; and at the foot of the whole was a portion of unequal and broken ground, with here and there the appearance of cavernous openings in the cliff itself. The negroes, from the

plantation above, had come down to assist in landing their master's goods ; and these, added to the crew, made the whole number employed, from fifty to sixty persons. The night was cloudy and dark, but myriads of fireflies spangled the air, yet not a solitary star was to be seen. Strong torchlight was therefore necessary, to enable the labourers to do their work. The pitch-pine of the woods, so full of resinous matter, was accordingly used for this purpose ; and the glare of several such torches moving from spot to spot, without any visible agent—the persons of the negroes, who carried them as high as they could elevate them in the air, being hidden in the shade—the occasional waving of these torches to and fro, the bright lights on some parts of the cliff, and the deep shadows on others, with occasional flashes of forked lightning, rolling of thunder, and shouting of the men, when they hailed from the summit of the bluff above, or responded from the beach below—formed altogether a scene worthy the pen of Mrs. Radcliffe, of cave-and-bandit-loving memory, or of the pencil of Salvator Rosa, and quite worthy the terror and the grandeur of his style.

On the following morning, the 2d of May, the weather was bright and beautiful, though the heavy clouds and lightning of the night portended rain, and we listened with delight at sunrise to the vocal concert which the warblings of the birds gave out from the woods on either side, which literally rang with their melody, although the passage of a large steam-vessel, with the noise occasioned by the continual puffs of steam from the high-pressure engines, would be likely to interrupt their songs. I had once enter-



... the ... of ... light ...

tained an opinion, and may very probably have somewhere expressed it, that the birds of America were not so musical as those of England, and this may still be true of the North, but here at least it is not so, and I could now fully appreciate the truth of the following testimony upon this subject, borne by one of the most competent witnesses, Wilson, whose excellent work on the Ornithology of America is well known. He says—

“The opinion which so generally prevails in England, that the music of the groves and woods in America is far inferior to that of Europe, I, who have a thousand times listened to both, cannot admit to be correct. We cannot with fairness draw a comparison between the depth of the forest in America, and the cultivated fields of England, because it is a well-known fact, that singing-birds seldom frequent the former in any country. But if the latter places be compared with the like situations in the United States, the superiority of song, I am fully persuaded, would justly belong to the American continent. The few of our song-birds that have visited Europe, extort admiration from the best judges. The notes of the cardinal-grosbeak, says Latham, are almost equal to those of the nightingale. Yet these notes, clear and excellent as they are, are far inferior to those of the wood-thrush, and even to those of the brown thrush or thrasher. Our inimitable mocking bird is also acknowledged by themselves, to be fully equal to the song of the nightingale in its whole compass. Yet these are not one-tenth of the number of our singing-birds. Could these people be transported to the borders of our woods and settlements in the month of May, about half an hour before sunrise, such a ravishing concert would greet their ear, as they have no conception of.”

This was certainly the case with us, and we continued to enjoy this concert till more than an hour after sunrise, when it gradually began to die away.

Among the trees in fullest foliage, and most remark-

able for size and grandeur, along the banks of the river, the sycamore was pre-eminent. Its bark is a brilliant and glossy white, as if it had been painted and varnished ; and as its branches are very numerous, and stretch out and interlace themselves, like so many white arms, with the surrounding trees, it produces a remarkably pleasing effect. Of the size to which this noble tree sometimes attains, it is stated that one growing on the banks of the Ohio river near Marietta, measured fifteen feet six inches in diameter. Another and still larger tree of this description was converted, by Judge Tucker of Missouri, into a good room, which he used for a study. Having caused this tree, which was upwards of sixteen feet in diameter, to be cut down about twenty feet from the ground, the lower part or stump was hollowed out, and made perfectly circular. Windows were then perforated in the outer circumference, a roof was put on, a door of entrance made, a stove and furniture added, and a compact circular library of fourteen feet diameter in the interior was thus made out of a single tree. When the whole was completed, and sawn asunder above the roots, it was drawn, on sleighs prepared for the purpose, by a long team of oxen, and conveyed to its resting-place, for the judge's use.

The accacia or locust-tree is also seen on the banks of the Alabama. This, however, and the black walnut, being scarce, are not so often cut down for firewood as the other trees, but are seen standing in the midst of cotton-fields and other cleared lands. The wood of the locust-tree combines great lightness with strength and durability, and is

therefore much used in shipbuilding, as well as for posts for enclosures of houses, and garden rails.

A species of poplar, called here "cotton-wood," is also a frequent and a very ornamental tree. It has its second name from scattering on the ground, when its flowers fall, a downy substance much resembling short fibres of cotton. It is remarkable for its being generally the first spontaneous growth on the alluvial deposits left dry on either side of the stream. As soon as such a bank is formed, the young plants spring up so thickly as to make an impervious thicket of foliage, and grow so uniform in height and thickness, that they look like an artificial plantation ; but this is all the work of Nature, and many such banks of first-growth trees may be seen on the Mississippi and Alabama. When thinned, however, by the cutting down of intermediate trees, so as to afford the rest more room for expansion, they grow to a great size, hardly inferior to that of the sycamore ; trees of twelve-feet diameter having been cut down on the Red river, of which 1000 rails have been made. It is said that when they are cut in the winter, the moment the axe penetrates the centre of the tree there gushes out a stream of water or sap, and that of this a single tree will sometimes discharge several gallons. At this season of the spring, the foliage is beautiful, and a little later in the year the full-blown flowers of this, and of the yellow poplar, or tulip-tree, gives great splendour to the scene.

The magnolias were now in full blossom ; and we saw several of the smaller varieties, as well as of the *magnolia grandiflora* ; the flowers of this last are of the richest cream-like white, expanding to a dia-

meter of eight inches, and, with the large deep-green glossy leaf, give unusual beauty to the forest.

Two other flowering-trees are produced in these woods, but being each more rare than the magnolia, they are not so often seen or noticed, except by persons who take pleasure in such investigations, and make them the objects of their inquiry. The first of these is the bow-wood, so called because its branches were used by the native Indians for making their bows; and it is remarkable that it bears a large fruit of most inviting appearance, resembling the orange, which when opened, however, is not found agreeable to the taste. The other tree is the catawba, or catalpa, which grows to a large size, and has a beautiful deep-green foliage. When in blossom, its rounded top presents a tuft of flowers, of great beauty and unequalled fragrance; and a single tree, when in full bloom, is sufficient to fill the atmosphere for a great distance around it with delicious odours.

From the long-prevailing drought of several weeks, during which little or no rain had fallen here, the river was lower than it had ever been remembered to be at this season of the year. The navigation of the Tombigbee and Blackwarrior rivers was indeed altogether closed; and the Alabama was now so shallow, that vessels drawing more than six feet could not ascend it. We grounded in the Medora at least twenty times, and backed off again to seek deeper water; and we passed one of the large-class boats, the Jefferson, which was obliged to stop half-way, and return again to Mobile, handing over such of her freight and passengers as we could take in the Medora, for conveyance to Montgomery.

Here on the Alabama, as well as on the Savannah and the Mississippi rivers, these bluffs have been uniformly chosen as places of settlement for towns, and stations for dwelling-houses or estates, from a belief in their superior salubrity, of which the examples of Savannah, Augusta, Montgomery, Baton Rouge, and Natchez, all of which I had seen, are in point. These heights are now generally admitted, however, to be less healthy than the corresponding localities just below them on the rivers' banks. The reason assigned is this—that the miasma of the lower grounds, occasioned by decayed vegetation, being specifically lighter than the atmospheric air, rises above it, and floats on its surface like oil upon water ; so that this noxious atmosphere hangs over the higher cliffs, while the air is much purer below. Whether this be or be not the cause, the effect is unquestionable ; and many a fever and ague are caught in the autumn, by those who remain on the bluffs, that are escaped by those who live below.

Another popular error respecting the change of climate and its causes, seems to exist, which may be worth notice. That the climate of the South has become more cold, and that of the North more humid, seems to be beyond all dispute ; but that the progressive clearing of the lands has been the cause of this change, as generally assumed, has been doubted, and that by very competent authorities. I have before stated, I think, that Dr. Luzenberg, of New Orleans, had observed that marshes and morasses were not unhealthy while covered with dense forest, and not only Louisiana, but Arkansas, abound with proofs of this ; but when the process of clearing

the trees began, then vegetable decay ensued, and miasmatic exhalations took place. Mr. Darby, in his Survey of the United States, says—

“Employed ten or twelve years in exploring the prairies of Louisiana, I had ample means to test the seasons of a country naturally devoid of forest-trees; and in the frequent and sometimes light snows of Opelousas, in latitude $30^{\circ} 30'$ north, I became convinced, as early as 1805, that removing timber must produce the very reverse of melioration; and then suspected, what is now proved, that in very open countries the range of the thermometer must be augmented.”

In the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, there is still stronger evidence on this subject, in a communication from Mr. Dunbar, of Natchez, which, as it relates to an important question, and is treated in a clear and interesting manner, I transcribe. He says—

“It is with us a very general remark, that the summers have become hotter, and the winters colder, than formerly. Orange-trees and other tender exotics have suffered more in the neighbourhood of New Orleans, within these four or five years, than before that period; the sugarcane has also been so much injured by the severity of the winters, as greatly to discourage the planters, whose crops in many instances have fallen to one-third of their expectations. In former years, I have observed the mercury of the thermometer not to fall lower than 26° or 27° ; but for a few years past, it has generally fallen as low as 17° or 20° ; and once, on the 12th of December, to 12° , lower than any former instance on record.”

I was assured, however, at Natchez, as I have been here, on the Alabama, that this degree of cold is not so unusual now as it was formerly; and all appear to think, that so far from the clearing of the land leading to an abatement of the summer heat or

winter-cold, as is elsewhere generally supposed, it has the effect of augmenting both, and carrying them to greater extremes. This is illustrated and confirmed by the well-known fact, that large open plains, without trees, as in Mesopotamia, and extensive level deserts, without either wood or verdure, like those of Arabia and Sahara, are both hotter in summer and colder in winter than tracts in which forests protect the soil from the extremes of both.

Our second night on board the steamer was rendered disagreeable by the frequent running aground of our vessel, and by our being run foul of by a rival boat, the Cahawba, from which some injury to both was sustained. The day was more endurable, by the opportunity which every hour afforded us of observing the beautiful foliage on both banks of the river ; for trees line the margin the whole way, even where the cotton-fields come down to within a few feet of the stream. The reason for thus permitting this fringe or border of trees to remain everywhere along the low lands, is, that the roots may bind together the alluvial soil, and thus prevent the too rapid crumbling away of the banks ; but at intervals here and there, we could see the cotton-plants just rising a few inches above the ground in regular rows, the planting being chiefly over, though on some estates they continue to plant till June and July.

Among the passengers in the ladies' cabin, were three coloured females, going from Mobile to Montgomery, whose position was very remarkable. They were not negresses, but mulattoes of dark-brown colour and strongly-marked African features, and appeared to be sisters or relatives. They were each

dressed much more expensively than either of the white ladies on board—silks, lace, and feathers, with ornaments of jewelry of various kinds, being worn by them. They slept on the cabin-floor, as the coloured servants usually do, no berth or bed-place being assigned them; and they occupied a good hour at their toilette, with the white stewardess, before the ladies were moving. They remained sitting in the cabin all day, as if they were on a footing of perfect equality with the white passengers; but when meal-time came, then was seen the difference.

The order in which the meals were taken in the steam-vessel was this: at the first bell, the captain and all the white passengers sat down; when these had all finished and left the table, a second bell summoned the pilot, the captain's clerk, all the white men of the engineer's department, the white stewardess, and such white servants or subordinates as might be on board; and when these had finished, the third bell summoned the black steward and all the mulattoes and coloured servants, to take their meal. So equivocal, however, was the position of these coloured ladies, that they could not be placed at either of the tables; they were not high enough in rank to be seated with the whites, and they were too high to be seated with the blacks and mulattoes; so they had to retire to the pantry, where they took their meals standing; and the contrast of their finery in dress and ornament, with the place in which they took their isolated and separate meal, was painfully striking. What rendered it more so, to me at least, was this—that however a man might yearn to break down these barriers which custom and prejudice has

raised against a certain race, the exhibition of any such feeling, or the utterance of any such sentiment, would undoubtedly injure the very parties for whom his sympathy might be excited, or on whose behalf it might be expressed.

We did not reach Montgomery till the middle or the third night; and therefore remained on board till daylight, when we landed on the morning of Saturday the 4th of May, at sunrise, and found very comfortable quarters in the excellent hotel, called Montgomery Hall.

We remained at Montgomery for a few days; and I delivered a short course of lectures in the Methodist church, there being no rooms suitable for such purposes in the smaller towns of the country; and the churches of all denominations of Christians being freely granted for this purpose, whenever the subjects of the lectures are deemed useful and unobjectionable. These were attended by audiences increasing from 250 to 300 persons, and, as usual, brought me speedily acquainted with the most intelligent and influential inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood.

CHAP. XXXII.

History, progress, and description of Montgomery—Eloquent Address at the Sabbath School Anniversary—Contest of melody between a mocking-bird and canary—Corpulent men in Alabama—General uniformity of stature and appearance—Supposed causes of this in the men and women of America—Leading features of personal appearance in both sexes—Mrs. Ellis's work on "The Women of England."

As a town, Montgomery has few distinguishing or prominent features. It is of comparatively recent date, having been first settled in the year 1823. Its position is on a sloping declivity, on the north-eastern bank of the Alabama river, not extending quite down to the stream, but distant nearly half a mile from its borders, and elevated about 100 feet above its level. The town consists principally of one main street of ample breadth, 100 feet at least, at the bottom of which is the Court House, and lateral streets leading from this as a centre. It has but one bookseller's store, but others for the supply of goods of all kinds are numerous. It has two weekly newspapers, the *Advertiser and Journal*; two principal and several smaller hotels, and one of the former, Montgomery Hall, not inferior to any that we had met with out of the larger cities—spacious, clean, airy, well-conducted, and comfortable.

The present population of Montgomery is estimated at 3,000, of whom about 1,600 are whites, and

1,400 coloured people. They appeared to us more quiet, orderly, and in better condition, than we had been accustomed to observe in the Southern towns, a fact to be attributed chiefly to the influence of religion, as the inhabitants are chiefly of New England stock, and there are no less than six churches, each well attended, in this small community ; namely, an Episcopal, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, a Methodist, a Unitarian, and a Catholic : as many, in short, as there are in the populous, but gay and dissipated city of New Orleans. In one of these churches, the Methodist, I heard, on the Sunday after our arrival there, one of the most chastely eloquent and beautiful addresses, that it has yet been my lot to hear in this country, delivered by a gentleman of the bar, a member of the Methodist body, Mr. Hilliard, on the occasion of celebrating the anniversary of the Montgomery Sunday Schools. The audience was very large, and among them were about 200 Sabbath School pupils. The address was, however, chiefly directed to the parents and teachers, and its object was to show that merely cultivating the intellect, and adding to the stores of knowledge, without implanting moral and religious principles, and purifying and ennobling the sentiments and feelings of the heart, was not sufficient to ensure the formation of a virtuous and happy character ; and this point was established, illustrated, and enforced in the most able and conclusive manner. Several negroes and coloured people were among the auditors in the gallery, where alone they are permitted to sit in this country ; and the only drawback I felt to the extreme pleasure which the discourse afforded me, was the melancholy

consideration, that the unhappy children of these coloured persons are excluded, like themselves, from all the benefits of intellectual cultivation, since, throughout the South, it is unlawful to teach a slave even to read !

During our stay at Montgomery, the weather was delicious, as much so indeed as it is possible to conceive. The thermometer from 65° to 70°, with a fresh bracing wind from the north-west, the sky a deep and clear blue, with small white fleecy clouds, the air balmy and odoriferous from the perfume of the surrounding woods, and the birds full of song from every tree and every bush. Nothing in the finest days in England, under the most favourable combinations, ever surpassed it in splendour or beauty.

Of the mocking-birds, we had two fine specimens in the hotel, each kept in a large cage, with ample room to display their graceful movements. They were in size rather less than the English lark, and in plumage and shape like the English linnet, with a longer tail, and colours a greyish blue and white. One of these was the most beautiful warbler we had ever heard, and seemed to feel intense delight in hearing his own notes, which were poured forth in a full torrent, with infinite variety, and with but little intermission, from the earliest hour of morning until noon, when it relaxed for a while in its efforts, but resumed them in full vigour at the evening song.

Not far from its cage was a beautiful canary, one of the sweetest songsters of its tribe, whose notes alternately thrilled, and gushed, and warbled from its delicate throat, transporting the ear of the human listener, and exciting the envy and emulation of its

own feathered rival. When it ceased, and while its last falling cadence yet filled the air, the mocking-bird would take up the strain, and in a full stream of the richest melody pour out its whole soul in ravishing sounds of extacy and feeling, swelling sometimes into an air of triumph, then dropping into the deep-toned gurglings of sorrow or despair, and anon winging its flight to the topmost range of the musical scale, and warbling forth its whole soul in such a frenzy of joy, that it could not refrain from rising in the air, and clapping its own wings in token of victory. A pause would ensue, as if the contest were given up, and the superiority of the conqueror in this contest of melody admitted beyond dispute. But after a short interval, the beautiful canary-bird would try another and a richer strain, and with an earnestness of purpose which swelled its little bosom and expanded its whole frame with the efflatus of inspiration, as if Cecilia herself had descended to its aid, it made the air ring with its melodious and gushing strains, rapturous, soul-subduing, and enchanting—as joyous to its own consciousness of power, as it was evidently astonishing even to its listening competitor, who stood mute with admiration, and for a moment appeared overcome with a sense of its own incapacity to surpass its exquisitely gifted rival.

In this manner the struggle for the mastery was continued by the hour: often suspended, and as often renewed, calling up forcibly to my recollection what I had not read or seen for years, but what, whoever had once enjoyed, could not easily forget, the eloquent poem of Herrick, entitled, I think, “Music’s Duel,” in which the contest of two nightingales for supremacy

in the power of song is eloquently portrayed ; but not more so than the similar contest of these two Southern warblers would deserve to be by any poet's pen.

The transition will be thought unfavourable ; but travelling is unavoidably accompanied with such sudden contrasts of deformity with beauty, of the dull with the pleasurable, and often of the ridiculous with the sublime. On quitting this exquisite enjoyment, afforded by the strains of these sweetest songsters of the woods, we met the largest man I had ever seen, not only in America, but anywhere in the world : not even excepting those who had been publicly exhibited for their bulk. In contrast with such a "mountain of flesh" as the one before us, Falstaff would have appeared a "Justice Slender." One of the largest men I had ever seen until now, was one of the representatives of this State of Alabama, in the Congress at Washington, Mr. Lewis. This gentleman was about six feet in circumference, and reputed to weigh thirty stone ; but the person whom we now saw at Montgomery, also a native of this State of Alabama, though not related to the representative alluded to, appeared to me at least eight feet in circumference, and could not certainly have weighed less than forty stone, or 560 lbs. He was so large, that it was painful to look at his immense bulk. Nevertheless, he was perfectly healthy, and had the free use of all his limbs, as he walked with great ease, and showed no signs of fatigue.

In England, fat and corpulent men, especially above the age of forty, are frequently met with ; but in America, such persons are rarely seen : the *pleasures* of the table, as they are called—though often

bringing in their train the *pains* of indigestion, headache, nausea, and nightmare—not being indulged in, by any class in this country, to so great an extent as in England. The people of America are too busy, and too much engrossed with preparations for the future, to devote much of the present to the habits which make so many corpulent men in England, and which cause the tendency to corpulency to be transmitted, like the gout, hereditarily, from generation to generation. There is greater uniformity of stature, shape, feature, and expression, among both the men and the women in America, than there is in England ; which is the more remarkable, because, though the English population is descended from a great variety of original stocks, Celtic, Saxon, Roman, Dane, and Norman, yet many centuries have elapsed since any large addition has been made to its population by immigration ; and foreigners are not often even intermingled with us by marriage. Here, however, not only has there been great diversities in the original stock, British, Dutch, French, Spanish, Danish, Swedish, and German ; but these varieties and admixtures are kept up by perpetual immigration of persons from all these distant nations. Yet the amalgamation of the whole seems to settle itself into a much greater uniformity of national stature, physiognomy, and general appearance in America than is the case in England.

The principal causes of this uniformity appear to me to be these—first, The general equality of condition in the several classes of the population, none being very rich, and none being very poor, but all provided with reasonable competency ; so that the

style of living, dressing, and enjoyment, is pretty nearly the same with all, except the few at either extreme of condition, which does not, however, perceptibly affect the uniformity of the mass. Second, The general equality of their lot in being all obliged to labour for subsistence ; some in the higher departments of the law, medicine, tuition, and the direction of agricultural and commercial affairs ; and others in the subordinate duties of handicraft and artisan occupations ; but all to do something—and thus to be uniformly occupied, from morning till night, in labour of some kind or another. Hence, all persons rise early, and breakfast, dine, and sup at nearly the same hour, in the same town or district. There is no *hauteur* on the part of the richer, nor obsequiousness on the part of the poorer members of the community ; no disputes about precedence between bankers or merchants, clergy or manufacturers, wholesale dealers and retailers ; the barrister is not a greater man than the attorney, nor the physician superior to the surgeon, for these separate departments of law and medicine are united in the same individual ; and the judges, the members of the legislature, and even the governor himself, mingle as freely with the humbler members of society, as if they were wholly unconnected with office. Nor does this, as some might suppose, lessen, in the slightest degree, their dignity or efficiency ; and I might cite an example of a similar state of things in a part of the British dominions—the island of Guernsey, where the chief magistrate and civil governor, the venerable Daniel De Lisle Brock, may be seen in familiar conversation with some of the humblest inhabitants of the

island, in their fields or in their streets, or accompanying him as he walks on foot to and from his country residence to the court-house, where he presides as judge, and as head of the legislative as well as of the executive power ; and yet no man's person is more beloved, or no man's authority more revered and respected, than his, throughout all Europe.

This general uniformity of stature and appearance in the men and women of America, thus attempted to be accounted for, is accompanied with certain characteristics, which may be thus briefly described. The men are generally tall and slender in figure, more frequently above five feet ten inches than below it, and rarely exceeding three feet in circumference about the waist ; the arms are long, the legs small, the chest narrow, the form not so frequently erect, as slightly stooping, arising from carelessness of gait and hurry in walking ; the head is small, but the features are long, the complexion pale, the eyes small and dark, the hair straight, the cheeks generally smooth or without whiskers or beard, and the whole expression and deportment is grave and serious. The women of America are not so tall in stature as the women of Europe generally, being oftener below five feet four inches, than above it ; of slender figure, without the fulness or rotundity and flowing lines of the Medicean statue, imperfect development of bust, small hands and feet, small and pretty features, pale complexions, dark eyes, a mincing gait, delicate health, and a grave rather than a gay or animated expression. If the men seem to be marked by a general uniformity of standard in personal appearance, the women are still more alike ; and it is

remarkable that there is far less of diversity in the condition and occupation of females, than in that of males of the same rank and class of life in this country ; for here, all the daughters, except in the very humblest ranks, are brought up as young ladies ; and all the wives are so unqualified to superintend household or any other labours, that all is done for them by servants or by slaves. Thus relieved from all necessity for exercising either their physical strength or mental capacities, they soon become feeble in health, and indifferent towards society. In gay parties, they are usually neglected, because they are married ; and they are not so important as the English housewife or matron at home, because they are neither active mistresses of their own household, nor active trainers or educators of their children ; neither are they called upon to be such frequent entertainers of friendly guests in the evening and social circle, as married ladies and heads of families are in England. I took occasion to recommend strongly to many persons, who agreed with me as to this view of the state of female education and society in America, the perusal of Mrs. Ellis's admirable work "*On the Women of England, their Social and Domestic Duties,*" which I purchased at New Orleans, and read with great pleasure during our voyage up the Mississippi ; for if her excellent advice was needed to change the present system of female education in the middle classes in England, it is still more required for all in this country, where the evils it desires to correct are much greater than at home.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Leave Montgomery—Want of punctuality in stages—Trees of the forest—Magnolias—Red-bud and Kalmia—Erythrina, or coral-tree—Palmetto—Pride of India—Woodpeckers, squirrels, and cameleons—Corn-plants—Cotton-shrubs—Oats and rye fields—Peach orchards—Gardens, roses, and wild flowers—Beauty of the country—Grandeur of its future prospects—Character and conversation of fellow-passengers—Peculiarities of expression from the Far West—Recent intelligence of the state of Texas—Approach of night—Solemn stillness of the forest—Immense fires—Pitchy darkness succeeding—Song of the nightingale—Myriads of fireflies.

THE stage-coaches of this country are not regulated by the same punctuality as those of England and France. The mail, even, will often wait for two or three hours beyond its usual time of starting, to pick up a few passengers. This morning, when we left Montgomery, May the 8th, in an opposition coach, termed the "People's Line," and professing to beat the mail especially in its punctuality, we were detained two full hours, one of which was passed by seven passengers sitting in the coach at the hotel-door, waiting for a single passenger only. The cause of his detention was, that he wished to change a note at one of the banks, which did not open until nine; and though the fixed hour for departure was half-past seven, we did not start till nearly ten.

The day was delightful in its temperature, and our road lying almost wholly through the forests, we had the finest opportunity of seeing the woods in all

the perfection which they exhibit in this delicious month of May. The foliage is then as gorgeous here, as it is with us in June and July ; and all the flowering trees and shrubs are in the full pride of their bloom. Of the trees mingled with the interminable pine, and assisting to vary the monotony of their perpetual succession, we noticed the live-oak, an evergreen, the red and white oak, deciduous ; the elm, the chesnut, the beech, and the birch. The oaks have been before described. The elm, though differing in appearance from our English tree, is not less beautiful than it. Of the white elm, one of its varieties, Hinton gives the following accurate description. "In clearing the primitive forests, a few stocks are sometimes left standing. Insulated in this manner, it appears in all its majesty, towering to the height of 80 or 100 feet, with a trunk 4 or 5 feet in diameter, regularly shaped, naked, and insensibly diminishing to the height of 60 or 70 feet, where it divides itself into two or three primary limbs. These limbs, not widely divergent near the base, approach and cross each other 8 or 10 feet higher, and diffuse on all sides, long, flexible, pendulous branches, bending into regular arches, and floating lightly in the air. A singularity has been observed in this tree, which has been witnessed in no other ; two small limbs, 4 or 5 feet long, grow in a reversed position near the first ramification, and descend along the trunk ; and it is accounted one of the most magnificent vegetables of the temperate zone." The chesnut is chiefly used for making charcoal, which is more highly esteemed than that from other woods. Of the beech there are two kinds, the white and the red ;

the latter grows chiefly in the Northern States, and the former is found over the Western and Southern States as far down as lat. 32° N. In the neighbouring State of Tennessee the trees are said to be often 12 feet in circumference, and more than 100 feet in height; but in Alabama they are not quite so large. Among the flowering trees and shrubs, we had magnolias of 70 and 80 feet in height, with from 40 to 50 large white flowers on each tree, close to the roadside, and many others filled with expanded blossoms, seen in the depths of the forest. Of smaller trees, the dogwood and the redbud were the most beautiful, and gave great richness and variety to the woods. The dogwood has a wide-spreading and canopied top, with a beautifully-shaped leaf, and bears a profusion of the most snowy white flowers. The redbud is still smaller, being between a shrub and a tree; and its flowers are extremely like the peach-blossom. The kalmia, or mountain-laurel, was more rarely seen, but came now and then to add its beauties to the rest; though we looked in vain for the rhododendron, which is said to be more abundant farther north, and especially in the mountains of Virginia. The erythina, or coral-tree, a small but beautiful shrub, not more than two feet high, now and then peeped out from the tangled bushes surrounding it; and its brilliant red flower, about an inch in length, tubular or cylindrical in shape, like the pieces of red coral worn in necklaces and bracelets (from whence its name), appeared like rubies hung on the branches; for even the flowers of the pomegranate, bright as their scarlet is when seen alone, looked faint and dull besides the erythina.

The only tropical-looking tree among all those that met my eye, and we saw two or three of these only in a ride of nearly 100 miles, was the palmetto, the only species of palm grown in the United States. Its trunk attains to the height of from 40 to 50 feet, having nearly the same diameter at the top as at the bottom; from its summit the long-pointed palm-leaves spread themselves out, like a number of fans all around, the immediate centre of the top being crowned by a tuft, which is not unlike a cabbage imperfectly developed, and which occasions the palmetto to be sometimes called the cabbage-tree. This tuft is indeed its fruit; the lower part of it being a white pulpy substance, which is eaten with oil and vinegar like a salad, but very rarely. When there is one cut off, the fruit is never reproduced, and the tree itself perishes. The wood is tough, fibrous, and pithy, like the wood of the date-tree in Egypt. It is therefore, like it, wholly unsuited to carpentry or to fuel; but its toughness makes it very well adapted to the construction of wharfs, as it yields to pressure, and recoils again with an elastic force, and is moreover free from the destruction by worms, to which almost all other woods are liable. The same qualities make it excellent for the construction of forts, as shots lodge in it without scattering splinters. It is said to be fast disappearing, and will probably soon become extinct.

The tree, called by some, "The Pride of India," and by others "The Pride of China," was among the most frequent of those seen on our road, always excepting the never-ending pines, and it was now in full flower. This is the tree which is used so abun-

dantly to form the avenues along the side-walks of the public streets in Charleston, Savannah, and nearly all the Southern cities as far as New Orleans and Natchez. It is not an exotic, as its name had led me to suppose, nor could I ever learn the origin of this name. The tree does not attain to a very large size, two feet being about its largest diameter, and twenty or thirty feet its greatest altitude. Its branches are wide-spreading, and its leaves full and luxuriant, which fits it so well for giving shade ; while its large branches of lilac flowers—not so bright, however, as the lilac of England—offer an agreeable relief to the mass of its verdure ; and the fragrance of its blossoms gives a rich perfume to the air. It begins to flower so early as April, and continues to preserve its blossoms till June. Even when the leaves fall in the autumn, there yet remain large clusters of a reddish berry that look like fruit ; and these, though gradually changing their colour to a yellowish-brown, remain all the winter, and do not entirely disappear till the leaves and blossoms of spring return again. It is remarkable that these berries possess a narcotic or stupifying quality, which is perceptible in the birds that frequent the tree, especially the robins that resort to them in winter ; for after eating of this food, they become as fixed as if they had taken opium, and may be taken off by the hand, or removed by a stick.

Among the birds seen in our journey of to-day, the woodpecker was very frequent, both the ivory-billed, with his fine crest of brightest crimson, and his bill as white as snow, and the red-headed woodpecker, with its beautiful plumage of red, white, and

black, mingled with a shining and glossy greyish blue, all busy in tapping the various trees of the forest, scattering their bark on the ground, and feeding on the larvæ or insects which rewarded their search. Very many of the bare and leafless trees in the woods are said to be reduced to that state of nakedness and decay by the ravages of the woodpecker, who thus assists the labours of the settler, for this process of stripping it of its bark causes it the sooner to rot and fall on the ground, and saves the woodman the trouble of felling it with the axe.

Of squirrels we saw great numbers, both in the trees, and on the zig-zag fences called rails; and here also, among the lizards, which are abundant, the chameleon is frequently seen; they are said by the woodmen to be in reality harmless, though they always evince a disposition to bite when they are caught, and are prevented only by the strong pressure of the head between the finger and thumb. Their general colour is green, and it is on the green leaves of trees that they are most frequently seen. The under part of the throat, however, then exhibits a bright scarlet; but if, when caught, they are placed on a handkerchief or shawl, they will gradually assume all its varied hues in succession. A black colour appears to give them absolute pain; for then, changing to a deep brown colour, they exhibit positive suffering, by the quickness of their palpitations, and the evident marks of pain in their whole frame.

In addition to the pleasure we derived from observing the trees, shrubs, and flowering-plants, as well as the birds, and other objects of interest on our way, we enjoyed much the changed aspect of the whole

face of the country from that which it presented when we passed downward this way from the North, at the close of February last. Then, the earliest buds of vegetation had not begun to unfold themselves, and the surface of the cleared ground was nearly all brown earth. Now, however, early in May, the woods were one mass of the most gorgeous foliage, gemmed with the brightest flowers, and bathed in balmy and perfumed air. The green corn was nearly a foot above the ground in some of the fields; and in others the cotton-plants had attained to about half that height. Large fields of oats were at double that elevation; while waving tracts of rye were changing colour from green to yellow, and promised to be ready for the harvest in a few weeks. The orchards of peaches on either hand had changed their blossoms for thickly-clustered fruit, betokening a rich and abundant supply; roses and cultivated flowers of all kinds were exuberant in the gardens of most of the private dwellings we passed on the road; and the rich carpets of grass that were spread out beneath the forests, as far as the eye could extend, were literally spangled with wild flowers of every form and colour, of which it was easy to gather a bouquet of a dozen different kinds, from the roadside, while the horses were changing. Altogether the face of the country presented a combination of the grand, the useful, and the beautiful, which made it rank, in our estimation, as one of the finest we had ever traversed. Carrying the imagination forward in prospect, we could not but think that in less than a century hence, when population and capital, railroads and other improvements, shall have filled up

this immense territory with its fair share of enjoyers in proportion to its means of enjoyment, it will equal, if not surpass, the very finest parts of England or France ; and if well and wisely governed, be as happy a country, as it is sure to become a rich and productive one. Nature has done everything to make it so ; and if it fails, it will be the fault of its institutions or its inhabitants.

The passengers by whom we were surrounded in this journey—there being eight in the whole, seven gentlemen and one lady on the inside—were not of the best kind ; but as everybody travels in this country, and there are no outside places at inferior prices for the humbler classes, all meet together in this common receptacle—the stage-coach. Two appeared, from their conversation, to be coach-drivers, one of them chewing so abundantly, as to require a corner place, to prevent his spitting over the rest of the passengers, as his jaws were in perpetual motion, and he appeared to project his head out of the coach-door, to spit once in every minute. Notwithstanding this, at every place at which we stopped he lighted a cigar, and smoked while the horses were changing ; and we had the greatest difficulty in preventing him from bringing it within the coach for that purpose. He described himself as suffering the greatest torture if he was deprived for a moment of his tobacco. And I can believe it ; for, like opium or brandy, it requires a larger and larger dose to satisfy the morbid cravings to which its excessive use gives rise. And yet mankind are so infatuated, that thousands in this and in other countries—for even in England we are not free from this stain—persist in the consumption

of this useless and pernicious article, in snuffing, chewing, and smoking ; and commit the folly of devoting thousands of acres of valuable land to the cultivation of this exhausting and poisonous weed.

The individuals spoken of as coach-drivers, had been to the Western country, beyond the Mississippi, from whence they were returning to Carolina ; and among several of the new expressions in use among the Western people, from whom they professed to have borrowed them, we heard the following : Speaking of the morning and evening, they use the terms “ at sun-up,” and “ at sun-down,” instead of sunrise, and sunset ; as, for instance, the keeper of a log-house inn, would shake a sleeping passenger, and say, “ Stranger, be stirring : it’s near sun-up ; ” and in describing the extent westward to which Ohio money would circulate, the expressions used were, “ It’s such good money, that it will carry you to sun-down.” A handsome young girl at one of these log-hut inns had so many suitors, and rejected them so often, that it was said, “ Her lovers came to visit her in *cords*—this being the measure of a pile of firewood, containing many hundred billets—and she flung ’em off by *car-goes*.” A person in pecuniary difficulty, is said to be “ in a tight place,” or “ in a bad fix ; ” and when he runs away from his creditors, he is said to have “ sloped.” A soup or broth made of fowls, is called “ soup with chicken fixings : ” and when any proposed arrangement is difficult to be settled, the phrase is, “ It won’t do any which-way you may fix it ; ” or, “ they can’t fix it, any-how or no-how.”

One of the most communicative of our fellow-passengers, was a young man from Texas, who had

resided there two years, and left it only a week ago ; and his information respecting the actual condition of the country, was extremely interesting. I had seen the ex-president, General Houston, at Mobile. He had indeed sought an introduction to me, as we lived at the same hotel ; and I learnt from him that he had attended my lectures at New Orleans, and expressed a great desire to make my acquaintance ; but as our intercourse was short and interrupted, I did not learn much from him as to the state of the country. He was on his way to the Virginia springs, to recruit his health. Our fellow-passenger was much more communicative ; and as there was nothing to interrupt our conversation for several hours, he gave us a great deal of interesting information respecting the country of his late residence.

It appears that Texas, though originally considered but a remote and unimportant province of Mexico, is larger in area than any four of the largest States of America ; and at least three times as large as England, Scotland, and Ireland combined. Its borders, on the north-east and south-west, are the two rivers, Sabine and Rio del Norte ; the first separating it from Louisiana, and the second from Mexico ; each of these large streams being navigable for several hundred miles above their mouths. On the south-east it has a fine range of coast, with several harbours and rivers, presented to the sea ; and on the north-west, it passes, without any defined limit, into the territory occupied by the Cumanches, a powerful tribe of Indians, who are constantly receding before their more civilized neighbours. Throughout the whole of this territory, the soil is said to be as fertile

as in any part of the world. There are no desert or barren tracts yet known, but all is covered with productive soil. There is more of open prairie land, with rich grass and flowers, than of wood; though these prairies are usually skirted by forests. The land is wavy in surface, and generally rising into gentle hills as you pass upward into the interior from the sea. The climate, though between lat. 26° and 29° , resembles that of Alabama and Georgia more than Louisiana, because, like the two former, it is dry, and without the marshes and swamps of the latter. There is no extreme cold in any part, or at any season of the year; frost being very rare, and snow almost unknown, while the heats of summer are greatly tempered by the sea-breezes from the Gulf of Mexico, which are felt to a considerable distance inland. The climate is regarded as healthy in the extreme; and everything yet known of it renders this highly probable. Owing to the richness of the soil, and the abundance of prairie land, where there are no forests to be cleared before the cultivator can begin his operation, it seems the most tempting country upon earth for a new settler; for he has only to take possession of his tract of land, and begin to plough it at once; and a few months is sufficient to give him a rich harvest to reward his toils. Two crops of Indian corn are easily grown in each year; and the return is usually about a hundred-fold; a bushel of corn being amply sufficient to plant two acres, and each acre yielding readily from fifty to sixty bushels. Cotton is also produced of as good a quality as that of Alabama and Georgia; and several vessels have already taken cargoes of 't direct to Europe, where it is thought

to be equal to the American. These will for a long time, no doubt, continue to be the chief products; though as time progressively fills the country with population, other productions for which the soil and climate are adapted, will no doubt be introduced.

Soon after the inhabitants of Texas, then very few in number, had declared themselves independent of Mexico, the Mexican government made an attempt, as the British had done before them on their American colonies, to reclaim the province by arms; but with no better success. For though their best general, Santa Anna, at the head of nearly 4,000 men, marched into the heart of the province, and had every advantage of position and supplies in his favour, the 'Texians, composed principally of settlers from Tennessee and Kentucky, all excellent marksmen, and familiar with the use of the rifle from their boyhood, met them at San Jacinto, under the leadership of General Houston, their late president, and, with about 800 men, completely routed the 4,000 Mexicans, took their general prisoner in the disguise of a common soldier, and left more than 800 of his followers dead on the field; while they scarcely lost a dozen men of their own. Since then, the Mexicans have been unwilling or unable to repeat their attempt; and their recent disputes with France, and civil wars among themselves, have so much enfeebled them, as to make them unable to renew their attack; so that although they have not acknowledged the independence of Texas, it seems as firmly established as that of the United States.

The policy of the 'Texian government being now directed to the encouragement of settlers from all parts

of the world, they gave to each of the soldiers belonging to this army, a tract of 640 acres of land, allowing each person the privilege of settling and cultivating it himself, or selling it to others; and as the greater number have chosen the latter alternative, such tracts have been purchased by other settlers for very small sums, varying from five to twenty dollars only. The government gives, also, to every individual who will consent to become a citizen, a tract of 320 acres; and to every head of a family, 640 acres, free of cost; allowing them to choose it in any hitherto unappropriated spot. The only condition exacted is, that the person or persons to whom this is given, shall be in some part of Texas for a certain period of time in each year, for three years in succession; after which they may remain or not, as they choose. The country is therefore fast filling with settlers from every part of the United States, as well as from Europe; the planters coming chiefly from Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi; and the merchants, traders, and artisans, from New York and the New England States. The present population is estimated at about half a million; but it is augmenting rapidly every day, as scarcely a week passes in which there do not arrive steam-vessels from New Orleans and Mobile, bringing from 100 to 200 passengers; and these not needy and destitute emigrants, such as those who land on the shores of New York and Amboy from England and Germany, but persons of some capital, who add doubly to the wealth of the country, first by the money they bring, and next by the industry they take there, and put into immediate and active use.

There are four considerable towns in Texas—two

of them of Spanish or Mexican origin, Metamoras on the coast, and Santa Fé in the interior; and two of more recent date, namely, Galveston, the chief seaport, and Houston, the seat of government in the interior. Up to the period of the Texian revolution, Metamoras had been the chief place of import for foreign goods; and the Mexicans and Indians came from the interior, and purchased these goods with specie, usually silver dollars, but sometimes gold doubloons. Santa Fé, which is about 800 miles inland, was the great depôt for the interior trade between Mexico on the one hand, and St. Louis, near the Missouri, on the other, a distance of nearly 1,000 miles, chiefly through tribes of hostile Indians, who occupy the intervening country. To secure themselves against their attacks, the Texians travelled in large bodies of several hundred mules at a time, like the great Eastern caravans of camels in Asia; the merchandise being carried in bales, slung on each side of the animals, and the owners of the goods, being well armed and provisioned, riding on a horse or mule to guard their own property. Such caravans still traverse this part of the country; but it seems probable that Galveston and New Orleans will be the future routes to St. Louis, as the steam-navigation of the Mississippi will be cheaper, safer, and more agreeable, than those long land-journeys. Santa Fé is quite like an old Spanish town; it is wholly peopled by Mexicans, Indians, and native Texians, and the people speak no other languages than Indian and Spanish.

Houston, the seat of government, is on the Trinity river, which leads up from the bay of Galveston,

and is navigable by steam-vessels all the way to the town. It is not more than two years from the present time since the first house was built in Houston, the city being so named after the ex-president, who won the important battle of San Jacinto; and now there are said to be more than 500 substantial dwellings, with two churches, two theatres, several large hotels, and spacious stores in it. The population numbers about 8,000 individuals, and these are nearly all white; as the negroes taken into the country by new settlers are almost wholly engaged in cultivation, on the corn and cotton plantations.

Galveston, the seaport, is seated on an island, in a fine bay, the entrance into which has a passage that will admit ships drawing sixteen feet water. Though within three miles of the sea, in the Gulf of Mexico, the harbour is large, easy of access, well sheltered, with excellent holding-ground, and is distant only three miles from the continent, the space between the two being that in which the ships anchor. The island of Galveston is about thirty miles in length from N. E. to S. W., and not more than three miles in average breadth. It has a hard, sandy, compact beach all along its edge, is not much elevated above the sea, and has few or no trees upon it. It is nevertheless extremely well adapted to the foundation of a seaport town, because the whole length of its inner edge, facing the continent, is, for twenty miles at least, well adapted to building upon the very margin of the harbour, with the ships lying at the wharfs, or in the open water, a short distance off, and always commanding easy access to the shore. As a seaport, indeed, it seems to be one of the very best in all the Gulf of Mexico, from its

easy passage, depth of water, amplitude of space, and perfect shelter ; and it is more than probable, that before long, a great many of the ships that now frequent Vera Cruz, Tampico, and the Havannah, will prefer Galveston.

Here, as at Houston, the progress in building has been most rapid, more than 800 houses having been erected, it is said, in the course of the last year. These are run up with such rapidity, that a case was mentioned of a three-story house, with stores in the ground-floor, and dwellings above, being completed in the course of twenty-eight days from the laying of the foundation ; and it was occupied within a month from its commencement. So many persons are waiting, indeed, for stores, and houses to occupy, that most exorbitant rents are given ; and it has often happened that on a house being finished, the competition for its possession has been so keen, that the annual rental, settled by biddings at public auction, has been equal to the whole cost of the construction. With this, paid usually in advance, the owner has constructed another in a few weeks, and let it at the same advantageous rate. The demand for artificers is so great, and their wages so high, that 5-or 600 carpenters and masons were in constant employment, and receiving generally from six to eight dollars per day, as wages. Provisions of all kinds are abundant and cheap : excellent beef, mutton, and poultry, fish of various sorts, and oysters, wild turkeys in the woods and on the river's banks ; deer in great numbers, to be had for the shooting, by any one who chose to kill them ; and wild horses, of a small but hardy kind, on the prairies, easily caught, easily broken in, and then pleasant for riding. All business

is done on immediate payment ; and it is very rare that credit is given, or books of account kept.

The public sentiment being decidedly hostile to chartered banks, every attempt to get one incorporated by the legislature has failed ; so that, as yet, there is no bank in all Texas. The government have made an issue of treasury-notes, bearing interest at 10 per cent. per annum, redeemable in a given period, two or three years, and these constitute the only paper-currency of the country. Specie is, however, abundant, as all the trade with Mexico and the Havannah is conducted by specie payments. The ratio of value between the treasury-notes and specie is just double ; every silver dollar being worth two dollars in Texian paper. General Hamilton, and Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the late president of the United States Bank, have been commissioned, it is said, to negotiate a loan of 5,000,000*l.* sterling, in London, on the security of the public lands and revenue of the nation ; and if they succeed, the present treasury-notes will all be redeemed, and a new issue take place. As there is no probability of their being engaged in a war with any foreign country, nor of their being liable to any civil contests within themselves, this loan of 5,000,000*l.* may be paid off in twenty years at the farthest, or in ten if it be desirable ; and the country be then in full possession of all the means of self-support and future advancement.

The form of government is that of two houses of legislature and a governor, as in the several States of America ; and where no statute has been passed on any subject by the legislature of Texas, the laws of the neighbouring State of Louisiana are adhered

to. The present president, General La Mar, is much esteemed, and is said to be a man of high moral principle. Many excellent laws and regulations for the suppression of gambling, intemperance, and other vicious habits and practices, have received his sanction ; and the newspapers, of which there are already four, two at Galveston and two at Houston, support him with remarkable unanimity in this course. It seems admitted indeed on all hands, that not only is the population rapidly augmenting in numbers, but also greatly improving in character ; and all the future prospects of the country are therefore full of hope and encouragement.

Our long ride through the deep forests of Alabama passed rapidly, and agreeably, and we all remarked that we had never before remembered any journey of the same length in which we had suffered less fatigue. When night closed in upon us, there was a new source of contemplative enjoyment opened, in the deep and shadowy gloom, and the profound and solemn stillness of the thick and apparently impervious woods which still encompassed our road on either side. For miles in succession, not a being would be visible, and no sound audible but those made by our own motion, till, every now and then, the gurgling noise of some falling or running water would indicate our approach to a stream ; and myriads of frogs would announce, by their harsh croakings, the vicinity of a swamp.

Once or twice only in the course of the night, we heard the melodious warblings of some unseen nightingale, with notes of less variety than tenderness, the pathos of which harmonized with the silence of

all else around. Occasionally the woods would seem to be one vast blaze of fire before us, from the burning of large trees, some erect and others fallen ; and this so near the edge of the road, that in passing between the masses, as we kept in the exact centre of the track, we were nearly scorched in going through. The woodmen, before they go to rest, kindle such fires, to consume the trees, and let them burn all night ; and as it depends on the force and direction of the wind, what course the devouring element will take in its progress, and how long it will endure, so it sometimes becomes extinct before morning, and at others sets the forest in a blaze for miles around.

After passing through or between such fires as these, the darkness that follows is perfectly black and pitchy, leaving no power of vision hardly left, and obliging the driver often to descend from his seat, to look some paces ahead in spots of doubtful safety, and to go only at a walking pace where it seems most secure, as deep morasses in some parts, loose plank-bridges in others, and stumps of recently felled trees in almost all, present a constant succession of obstacles to speedy progress, any one of which, if not guarded against, would be sufficient to produce an upset. It is at moments of such intense darkness as this, that the fireflies look so bright and beautiful, and thousands of them now gemmed the air.

It was four o'clock in the morning when we reached the banks of the Chatahoochee river, the rushing waters of which, roiling over its rocky bed, were welcome music to the ear, and, after crossing the bridge, we entered Columbus, and took up our quarters at the Oglethorpe Hotel.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Description of Columbus—Destruction of the Court House by incendiarism—Fraudulent and swindling transactions with Indians—Singular indorsement on a Pensacola bank-note—Newspapers—Book-store—State mineralogist—Blowing caves at Decatur—Traces of extinct volcanic action—Relics of American antiquities in Habersham—Portrait of General Mackintosh—Chief of the Creeks—Atrocities perpetrated near Columbus—Nefarious conduct of the Whites to the Indians.

COLUMBUS, which lies at the western extremity of the State of Georgia, is seated on the left bank of the river Chathahoochee, which divides this State from Alabama, and which, rising a great distance to the north of this, goes downward by a winding course of about 450 miles, from hence to the bay of Apalachicola, where it discharges itself into the Gulf of Mexico. It has several rapids above the town, and a very rocky bed immediately opposite to it, so as to impede navigation above this point; but from hence to the sea, it is navigable by steamboats of small burden, which are principally occupied in the transportation of goods.

It is not more than eleven years since the first house in Columbus was built, yet there is now a population of about 4,000 persons, of whom 3,000 are whites, and 1,000 blacks and coloured people; the fewness of the latter, in comparison with most of the Southern towns, arises from the fact that it is

not so much an agricultural place as Montgomery, Macon, or Augusta, but chiefly commercial, and its principal residents are adventurers from the New England States.

There are five churches in Columbus, the Episcopal, Methodist, Presbyterian, Baptist, and Roman Catholic ; they are each small, and neither of them has a congregation exceeding 200. A wretched theatre, recently established, and said to be as wretchedly supplied with actors, is better attended than either of the churches ; and races, balls, and the gaming table seem more popular here than religion. There is a Lyceum, but it numbers less than 100 members, and it has its gratuitous lectures delivered from time to time in the Methodist church, from inability or unwillingness to spare the funds necessary to erect a suitable building.

There are two principal hotels in Columbus, the Oglethorpe and the City hotel, and several subordinate ones. We passed the few days of our stay at the former, and found it as disagreeable, as that at Montgomery had been the reverse. In this, as in most of the American hotels, the master and mistress seemed wholly indifferent to every department of the business, except making high charges and receiving the payments. One rarely or ever sees them at any part of the day, as they have their private rooms, and might be taken for strangers or guests, rather than managers of the concern. All is left to the slaves, who constitute the only servants here, and all is accordingly neglected. In the bed-rooms that we saw, there was not one in which a single bed was in perfect repair, and in attempting to remove one from

the wall, against which it was placed close, after the American fashion, it fell to pieces, having neither screw nor nail in any part, but being loosely put together. When this was spoken of as an imperfection, the answer was, "Oh, no—it is never intended that beds should be moved when they are once placed in their position; and if they require to be taken down for removal, why, then, no unscrewing or drawing nails is required." The common deficiency of wash-basins and jugs, of towels and glasses, with broken locks, broken panes, and curtainless windows, was here more than usually apparent; and there being but few attendants—and these unskilful and unwilling—and no bell or other method of calling them, the traveller must help himself as well as he can.

It was remarkable that this hotel was spoken of, far and near, as being provided with "silver forks;" and as this was thought a great luxury and refinement, it was presumed that everything else was on a corresponding scale. But this was a most erroneous conclusion; silver forks indeed there were, but the spoons were pewter, and the tea-service of queen's-metal, while the fare at table was so bad, that though we had been now tolerably well trained into the miserable living of country hotels in the South, this was almost unbearable, and we had some difficulty, indeed, in mustering appetites to eat sufficient for mere subsistence—comfort or enjoyment was quite out of the question. Though our own tastes were of the simplest kind, yet where the bread is but half baked, the butter rancid, the milk sour, the water dirty, the eggs stale, and every kind of meat and

poultry as tough as leather, it is difficult for even persons of simple tastes to live tolerably. But the bulk of American travellers do not seem to know what the comforts of living are, and cannot distinguish between good fare and bad, or at least never commend the one or condemn the other. As dirty bed-rooms and broken vessels, wretched fare and miserable attendance, seem, therefore, to satisfy them just as well as can be desired, for they are never complained of, there is of course no motive on the part of the landlords or servants for improvement, and no efforts are, therefore, made to attain it.

We had stipulated for a private sitting-room, and one was nominally awarded to us; but they could not comprehend the propriety of preventing other persons from coming and sitting in it, if they chose; so that in this private room, boarders living in the house would walk in at any time, and, without a word of apology, sit down at the piano, play a little, and that badly, perhaps sing, and that still worse—for the want of musical taste, and the thin wiry voices of most of the American females, render them less qualified to attain even mediocrity in vocal music, than the people of any nation in Europe—and men with their hats on, would walk in, look around, sit down, and then rise and go out again, without addressing a word to either of us as the occupants of this so-called “private apartment.” At night there was a dance in one of the large rooms of the hotel; when the servants came, and, without deeming it necessary even to ask permission, carried off the sofas and chairs of our room, leaving us just one each to

sit on, and no more ; and all this was done as though it were in the usual and ordinary course of their daily practice.

Columbus being a county town, has, or rather had, a Court House, for the transaction of its judicial business ; but it was recently burnt down, and is now ascertained to have been set on fire purposely by interested incendiaries ; some of whom have been apprehended and tried, and the evidence, though not amounting to legal proof, was abundantly strong for moral conviction. It appears that some very nefarious transactions had taken place, in the fraudulent transfer and occupation of lands belonging to the Cherokee Indians, who had but recently been removed from parts of this State ; and the documents necessary to give even a colourable pretext for such transfer, were deposited in the Record Office, which was in the Court House. Some disgraceful exposures being anticipated as the result of certain legal proceedings then pending on this subject, the parties implicated sought to suppress all evidence of their guilt, by burning the records, which, unhappily for the cause of justice, they succeeded in doing. The conflagration, however, carried away with it other and important records of real and honourable transactions ; and the knowledge of their destruction as evidence, led some unprincipled persons to take advantage of this fact, so that much litigation ensued in consequence. The Court was now sitting, in its fifth week, and had not got through half its business, though engaged from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, adjourning an hour to dinner,

meeting again at three, and sitting on always till sunset, and sometimes till midnight!

The town was suffering, it was said, under a pressure of pecuniary difficulties, such as had never been before experienced since it was built, partly owing to wild speculations of men who meant honourably, but imprudently ventured beyond their reach, partly from the fraudulent and swindling transactions of others of dishonest origin and purpose, and partly from the reckless dissipation of many, who, in the desperation of their circumstances, resorted to the race-course, or lotteries, or the gaming-table, to recover themselves, and thus lost their all. As a singular, yet melancholy relic of some such wrecked and ruined individual as this class alone could furnish, there came into my possession, received among the change for a payment made at the hotel, a note of the bank of Pensacola for ten dollars, lettered A. No. 107, dated Nov. 1, 1838, and signed by Walter Gregory, president, and James Calten, cashier, on the back of which, as an indorsement, was written the following remarkable sentence, in a clear and legible hand—

“Here goes the last of an ample fortune, spent in debauchery and every sort of vice. So now farewell dissipation—farewell to the courtesan—to the gaming-table—to wine—to sleepless nights and haggard days. Farewell, farewell. Reform! reform! *I will* reform.—Spent in a brothel!”

This note had been thus in general circulation probably for some months, as it was evidently much soiled by use, since this sentence had been written on it. My first impulse was to tear it up or commit

it to the flames, and thus prevent its further proclamation of infamy and crime ; but, considering that it might possibly have been the writer's wish and intention that his melancholy confession should operate as a warning to others—believing at least that by passing through many hands, it might by accident recall some guilty possessor of it from a similar career—I thought it best to let it continue to circulate, with the chance of its thus doing good ; though I doubt whether any similar record of confession and repentance could be found in open circulation as money, in any other country on the globe.

There are three weekly newspapers in Columbus—the *Inquirer*, *Argus*, and *Sentinel*—but only one bookseller's and stationer's shop, and that so poorly furnished, that we could not procure even a sheet of drawing-paper, or card-board, of the smallest size—no kind of drawing materials being ever inquired for, as we were told ; and their supply of books was ill-assorted and scanty. Everything connected with literature or the arts seemed indeed to be at a lower ebb in Columbus, than we had found it in any town in which we had made any stay in the United States, which is the more remarkable, when it is considered that its inhabitants are chiefly settlers from New England.

There is one appointment, however, of the State of Georgia, to which Columbus belongs, which evinces a desire on the part of the ruling authorities, to encourage scientific pursuits ; and that is, the institution of a State mineralogist. This gentleman is paid a salary of 2,500 dollars, or 500*l.*, a year, with a residence and a museum at the seat of government,

Milledgeville. His duties are to travel, during certain months of the year, over every part of the State in succession, make mineralogical investigations and collect specimens, and employ the remainder of the year in classifying and arranging them in the museum, and preparing his annual report on the whole. The result of this judicious appointment, well worthy the imitation of all governments, is seen in the excellence of the museum at Milledgeville; which, though it contains only the minerals found in Georgia, is accounted one of the richest in the whole country.

Among the natural curiosities recently discovered and explored in Georgia, are some exceedingly curious caverns, of which the following is a recent and authentic account, from the pen of a gentleman who visited, and thus describes them—

“It is perhaps not generally known that Georgia has among her natural curiosities, a blowing-cave. As I have lately examined two such caverns, I will give a description of them. They occur in a volcanic district in the north-east part of Decatur county, near the limits of Baker and Thomas.

“The first is amidst the pine-woods, in an extensive basin, and is ‘but a lime sink.’ The first is irregularly funnel-formed at first, for about ninety feet wide by thirty deep. At the bottom of this funnel is a small aperture about five feet wide, somewhat choked with a clump of shrubbery, that has sunk downwards a short distance, disclosing the dark unfathomed cavern beneath. It is from this aperture the wind rushes out, with a noise often loud enough to be heard one hundred yards off. The force of the current of air, however, is not always the same. Sometimes it is so great as to arrest the hunter’s ear at a distance; and again, so gentle as to be heard only on descending the steep side of the funnel to the brink. When the wind issuing from this place is small, an observer is surprised at the disproportion between its

zephyr breath and the rumbling noise, that dwells in the throat of the cavern. Yet no one seems ever to have suspected the presence of any other cause for this, than the mere current of air. On stooping low, however, and applying my ear quite into the mouth, it was easy to discern the splash and roar of unseen waters, tumbling over a subterranean cataract, into their dark and unknown reservoir. How far the stream, that forms this cataract, steals its silent way beneath the surface, or what its volume, or how deep its plunge, none can know. The distinctness of its roar affords no criterion by which to estimate its depth; for the sound, having no outlet but the tubelike mouth, is, of course, deceptive. It may be but a few hundred feet, or it may be a mile below the surface.

“The vertical position of this cave beneath the beholder’s feet, will for ever forbid its exploration. It is not probable that any adventurer will ever be found so hardy as to descend by rope and windlass, through an entrance so narrow, into a gulf so deep, so dark, and so watery. Indeed, while standing on the brink, one is conscious enough of danger, as he sees in the walls around, evidence of the recent formation of the cave, and as he observes that the very foothold between him and the abyss below, is but a thin bed of crumbling sand.

“The second cave is about one mile west of the first, and seems to be the crater of an extinct volcano. It has no resemblance to the first, except that both descend perpendicularly. The first occurs in a basin, composed of sand underlying a thin bed of clay, without rocks, the second drops in from the top of a hill composed of unctuous, tenacious, red clay, amidst large masses of tough rock, but little broken, or worn perforated as by an auger, and having no visible organic remains, and which I suppose to be cellular lava. The crater, measuring from point to point of the rim, is about two hundred yards wide, encircled, or rather formed by a mound of earth, that seems to have been deposited in its place by eruption, and which, though much abraded by waters, especially on the inner face, yet preserves a distinct outline. It is probable, the volcano, which formed this crater, like all those whose traces are yet found in the South of Georgia and Florida, existed but a short time. Indeed, if the fact be not misappre-

hended, the large masses of lava that now choke the crater, at the bottom of the inverted cone, and which seem to have tumbled back to their present place, show that there never was but one explosion, and that the eruptive power expired before the crater was wholly cleared of the molten material.

“It is said, and believed, among the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, that the wind blows out of this cave twelve hours, and into it twelve hours. Many assert that they have witnessed the fact; and in consequence, suppose that the current of air is connected with the tides. The cave evidently descends far below the level of tide-water in the Gulf of Mexico. But my own observations—made at all hours of the day—lead me to suppose the report is erroneous; and that the wind blows outwards. It is probable the opinion originated in the fact, that the wind very naturally varies in force at different times, so as to be scarcely perceptible at some seasons of the year. This is caused, perhaps by the increase or decrease of water in some subterranean stream which falls into the cave. When the waters are full, the current of air is strong; when they are low, it is weak.

“This cave is evidently of immeasurable depth; for, though the current of air must be produced by some cataract, or cascade, under the earth, yet the ear listens in vain for the faintest sound of water, nothing can be heard but the low murmur of the ceaseless wind. Hundreds of petrifications, both vegetable and animal, are found in the red clay outside of the ring of earth.

“Though the darkness and depth of this cavern are associated with ideas of terror, and excite thoughts of earthquake and volcano, yet the place is not devoid of material for fancy. On the large rocks that fill up the opening of the chasm which once shot forth fire and lava, a fertile mould has been deposited; from which, besides more useful trees, several young magnolias are now lifting their evergreen heads, and expanding their matchless blossoms over the very mouth of that descent to Avernus; not to hide it as a snare, but to catch the eye upwards, where bloom and foliage, and blue sky and light shall impart peace and purity to the mind.

“The Indian trail, too, threading its lonely way among the pine-forests, shows that the Tallahasseees and Cheehaws, in their inter-

course, were used to go far out of their way, in order to visit this mysterious place. It was, perhaps, the abode of some Seminole deity; perhaps the oracle where their prophets held pretended converse with the spirit-land. But what was its precise place or use in their mythology, the politician and the soldier have put for ever beyond our knowledge, by driving them to the Far West."

Equally curious as relics of the labours of generations now no more, are some Indian antiquities, which were not long since discovered in Habersham county, within this State, as recorded in Professor Silliman's *American Journal of Sciences and the Arts*, and Priest's *American Antiquities*. In this county was lately dug out of the earth, at a place where gold-ore is found, a small vessel, made of a compound of tin and copper, with a trace of iron, apparently used as a crucible, circular in shape, and placed on three legs, with a handle to put it on and take it off the fire. Other crucibles of earthenware have been found by the miners there, capable of enduring a heat three times as great as that of the Hessian crucibles, said to be the best now in use, and fragments of machinery formerly used, it is supposed, in drawing up the ore from the mine to the surface. On the top of Ycona mountain, in the same region, still exist the remains of a stone wall, which exhibits the angles of a fortification, and guards the only accessible points of ascent to its summit. Of all these remains, the present race of Indians, the Cherokees, who so recently inhabited this tract, and who were the most advanced in civilization of all the various tribes, have no tradition whatever; they, therefore, ascribe them to a much earlier race than themselves, and at some very remote period.

From the same source the following remarkable statement is derived, respecting a discovery, which is more difficult of explanation than any of the preceding, but of the authenticity of which I was assured, by very competent authorities, that there is no doubt. It is this—

“On the farm of a Mr. Richardson, a highly respectable gentleman in Georgia, Habersham county, was opened one of the *first* gold mines discovered in the Southern States. At this place a most singular discovery was also made, which was as follows:

“This gentleman being desirous of examining the stone stratum which formed the bed of a small river, had recourse to a dam, which he carried across the stream, and turned the whole of its water into a canal he had excavated in a direction favouring the descent of the stream; so that the bed where it had flowed was left dry. Now, while digging and blasting the rocky bottom of this stream he found at a certain place, three feet below the surface, imbedded in the solid compact rock, nearly a peck or eight quarts of *flints*, which were elegantly wrought, for their adaptation to the *gunlock*. Their form, however, in one respect differs from the form of the flint suited to fire-arms *now* in use; and this difference consists in there being a groove, across the head or thick end of the flint, showing that the cheek or jaws of the cock of the gun in which they were used, had a corresponding protuberance, so that the flint was held by what is called by joiners a *dovetail*, instead of a screw, as the gunlock is now manufactured.

“The whole of these curious-wrought flints were purchased by a gentleman, and carried to Milledgeville, Georgia, where he sold them as curiosities at a quarter of a dollar each.”

In the sitting-room which we occupied at Columbus, was a full-length portrait of General M‘Intosh, the late chief of the Creek nation, habited in that singular mixture of European and Indian costume, which the semi-civilized chiefs delighted to wear;

and being what is called a "half-breed," the son of a Scotch father and Indian mother, he had a fairer complexion and more European air than a full-blooded Indian. His character appeared to be held in the highest esteem by the American residents in Columbus, chiefly because many of them had profited by his treachery; but, as far as we could learn his history, even from the testimony of his admirers, it was base and dishonourable towards the tribe of which he was the chief and leader. The Creek nation were the occupants and admitted proprietors of a large portion of the soil of Georgia, embracing an area of 900 square miles, up to a comparatively recent period, 1825; and the government of the United States, in pursuance of their long-settled policy of removing all the Indian tribes to the territories west of the Mississippi, made great efforts to prevail on the Creeks to sell their lands, and emigrate westward. As these Indians, however, like the Cherokees, had made some advances in civilization, had built houses, enclosed and cultivated farms, and were leading an agricultural and social life, they were exceedingly averse to moving, and rejected all offers made to them. Measures were then taken to bribe the chief, M'Intosh, into an acquiescence with the views of the government, and to employ his influence to bribe and seduce a few others to join him in the design. These represented themselves as the competent authorities of the whole Creek nation, which they were not. As such, they made a treaty with the United States' commissioners, agreeing, for certain considerations, to alienate their lands, and remove to the west of the Mississippi;

and the government, though they know this to be unauthorized by the great body of the Creeks, proceeded in the transaction as though it were fully in accordance with the national wish. To preserve, however, as much as possible, the *forms* of legal proceeding, though its spirit was about to be violated, a council was called by the commissioners—all of whom were Georgians, and therefore personally and pecuniarily interested in the possession of the Indians' lands—and the place fixed on for the meeting was at a spot called "Indian Spring." Here the treaty of sale and cession of the Creek lands was signed. But when the rest of the nation saw that the treaty could not be abrogated, they resolved to be revenged on their chief, by whom they had been thus betrayed. About two hours before day-light, on Sunday morning, May 1st, the house of General M'Intosh was surrounded by Menaw-way, and about 100 Oakfuskee warriors. M'Intosh was within, as were also his women and children, and some white men. Menaw-way directed an interpreter to request the whites, and the women and children, to come out, as the warriors did not wish to harm them; that General M'Intosh had broken the law which he himself had long since made, and they had come to execute him accordingly. They came out of the house, leaving M'Intosh and Etomi-tustenugge, one of his adherents, therein. The warriors then set fire to the house, and as M'Intosh and his companion attempted to come out, they shot them dead.

Notwithstanding this, the treaty was acted on by the United States' government, and force was employed to compel the Indians to remove. This led,

as might have been expected, to resistance ; and in the war thus created, the greatest atrocities were perpetrated on either side. Columbus and its neighbourhood had its full share of the horrors of this bloody campaign ; the recollection of which, indeed, is so fresh in the memory of most of the inhabitants here, that they seem to feel a renewal of the terrors inspired by the original events while describing them to others. The following copy of a letter, written from hence, at the time, May 11th, 1836, will give some idea of their nature.

“ I wrote you yesterday, informing you of the hostile movements of the Creek Indians, and the commencement of their murderous career. We have full information here to-day of the distressing state of things among the whites who have settled over in that territory. The Indians are killing all—men, women, and children. Vast numbers have been butchered, without doubt ; and the whole country on this side of the Chattahoochee is in uproar and confusion. The population of the territory had become considerable, and they who have been fortunate enough to escape, are come over in droves on the Georgia side ; some with a part of their children ; some who have lost their children ; some their husbands ; and many children without father or mother ; some are found as they were wandering about, so young, that they could give no account who their parents were. So perfect a mixture and confusion never was witnessed before. Many have seen a part of their families murdered. One gentleman saw his father shot down near him, and his mother and sisters. Some of the dead have been brought over shockingly mangled. It is thought the whole nation is in hostile array ; their warriors are computed at 6,000 or 7,000 strong. The general impression is, that a part of the Seminoles have come up among them. The town of Columbus is in great danger of an attack, as they have threatened it strongly. A company of forty or fifty men left Columbus yesterday morning, and went over. On their return at night they brought in seven children, which they had found scattered about.”

The following additional narratives of these horrible transactions, taken from authentic records of the same period, will complete the picture.

“On Monday we received information that hostilities had commenced on the road between Columbus and Montgomery, at the Uchee bridge, and further on, and in the evening, the bridge at this place, and the streets leading from it, were thronged with the unfortunate refugees, who were fleeing before their savage neighbours. The pitiable condition of many of them was past the power of description. Wives severed from their husbands, and parents from their children—all dismayed, all terror-stricken—presented a scene which we never again desire to see. An interesting-looking girl, just blooming into womanhood, was brought in on horseback, behind a benevolent stranger, who had found her in the nation, making her way, unattended, to this place. She started with her parents, but before they had proceeded far, they were brutally shot down before her eyes. She fled to the woods, and escaped from her savage pursuers, and was found and brought to Columbus as above stated.

“A young man arrived at this place, also witnessed the savage murder of his parents. Another young man, in the act of fleeing, perceived the Indians dragging away his sister. He returned, declaring he would rescue her or die in the attempt, and he has not been heard of. From this time their deeds of savage barbarity have been too numerous to particularize. A woman was brought in on Tuesday, wounded in the hand, whose husband had been shot the preceding evening at the Uchee bridge. Colonel A. B. Dawson's negroes, who were taken by the Indians, and made their escape, state that they saw three corpses on the road near the Uchee bridge; a man, woman, and child, who had all been murdered. We learn that about 150 friendly Indians have reported themselves at Fort Mitchell, and are ready to assist the whites. Accounts to the 17th of May further state, that the Indians had entered the house of one family, and murdered the whole—including husband, wife, and six children. All were scalped, and the children beheaded. The house of a Mr. Colton had been attacked, and himself killed.

“About the end of June, a party of whites, who were scouting on Flint river, accidentally found a young woman about three miles from Cambridge, who had been wounded by a shot in the breast. She stated, that, on the 26th of June, about 300 Indians killed all the family to which she belonged, thirteen in number, except herself and her father, who made his escape. After being shot, she feigned death, and as the murdered were not scalped, she made her escape after the Indians left the scene of butchery.”

These events happened about three years ago only, but though the greater part of the Creek Indians have been actually removed, and their lands are now held by American purchasers, yet the Creek war can hardly yet be said to be at an end; for a number of fugitive Indians, who would not join the removing party, still continue in the territory, and pursue a sort of guerilla warfare against the whites, whenever an opportunity offers for revenge. Even now, in May, 1839, during our actual stay at Columbus, the following events occurred, and were made public in the Columbus papers.

“**MORE INDIAN MURDERS.**—The following letter, giving an account of the murder of several persons on the Apalachicola river, by the Indians, was received by our postmaster yesterday morning, and politely handed us for publication.

“The steamer *Siren*, arrived this evening from Apalachicola, brings information of a horrid massacre committed by a party of Indians, on Friday night last, on the Apalachicola river, about fifty miles below the junction of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. Seven or eight individuals of both sexes were murdered, and their bodies burned. The *Siren* stopped at the spot on Sunday, and the crew and passengers interred the remains of the murdered.”

“Since the above was in type, we have received the Apalachicola Gazette of the 11th inst., which gives the following additional particulars.

"A party of fifteen or twenty Indians, recognized to be Creeks, simultaneously attacked the settlement of Roberts, at Stefanulgee, and John and Nathan Smith's, Rico's Bluff. They burned Roberts' houses, killed a little boy, and wounded Roberts himself, who, with his wife, a man named Aldrich, and four children, escaped.

"At Smith's settlement, it is supposed that Nathan Smith's three children, a Mrs. Richards and her five children, and a man named White, were murdered. N. Smith, with his wife, another woman, and two men, escaped. John Lamb was severely wounded; he recognized the Indians to be Creeks. Sixteen of the fugitives, men, women, and children, came down on the mail-boat, and are completely destitute. Several of the Indians were seen on the banks of the river, as the boat came through the narrows, miles above Fort Gadsden."

After all, it is hardly to be wondered at, that the Indians should thus act and feel towards their betrayers and oppressors; especially as the sentiment of vindictiveness, and the duty of revenge, forms so important a feature of their training and education from infancy to old age. According to the testimony of persons with whom we conversed on this subject at Columbus, it was a common practice with the whites, who had congregated here as land speculators, at the conclusion of M'Intosh's treaty before mentioned, to act thus. They would first decoy one of the Indians of the Creek tribe, by prevailing on him to drink whiskey; and when they had got him thus completely under their control, they would procure two other Indians, and two unprincipled whites as witnesses, get the Indian to swear in their presence to a document describing the boundaries of certain plots of land, as being his property, and assigning it over to the white purchaser, for a large consideration, in money, and in goods. They would then take him

before a district-court, or magistrate, who would publicly ratify this sale ; and after paying the Indian, perhaps, a twentieth of the sum set forth in the document of sale, they would get the white witnesses to swear that he had been paid the whole amount in their presence, and had afterwards squandered or lost it. The whites then shared with each other the fruits of this atrocious system of robbery and plunder. I was assured, that there were American land-owners in various parts of Georgia, who were now men of immense fortunes, acquired chiefly by this mode ; and that nearly all the Indian purchases were conducted more or less after this fashion. No wonder, therefore, when the Indians became sober, and saw how they had been duped by the superior craft and cunning of their white plunderers, that they should vow eternal enmity against the whole race, and feel a savage satisfaction in perpetrating all the atrocities of war against them in its most brutal and bloody shape.

The influence of such transactions as these fraudulent land-purchases, on the general state of society at Columbus, is felt very powerfully at present, and will continue to be felt, no doubt, for years to come. That there are some excellent, honourable families living there, and in its neighbourhood, is undoubtedly true ; but the great bulk of the community furnish some of the worst specimens of character, and the reputation of Columbus stands at a low estimate.

CHAP. XXXV.

Leave Columbus for Macon—Outbreak of public feeling at Talbotton—Arrival at Macon—Narrow escape from being tarred and feathered—Conduct of the Macon mob to an Abolitionist—Road from Macon to Milledgeville—Great political convention—Reduction of the legislators to one-half their number—Journey to Warrenton—Pleasure of meeting countrymen abroad—Journey to Augusta—Illness and detention there—Anecdotes of religious society—Nice distinctions respecting the sin of dancing—Religious revivals in Georgia and Carolina.

AFTER being detained longer than we wished, from the difficulty of getting conveyances for Macon, we considered ourselves fortunate in being at length released from our confinement at Columbus. On our first passing this way to the South, there were three lines of public stages in competition with each other; and then, every facility was afforded to the traveller. Since then, one had been given up; and the other had been bought off, so that there was now only one line running, and it made the most of its monopoly. The proprietors being the only persons having horses or coaches, would not let an extra or private conveyance to any one, but preferred keeping them at the hotel till their regular stage-coach should have vacancies, and then they were taken up to fill them. This was our case; we could get no extra, or private conveyance of any kind, and were kept at the hotel for several days, while the coach went through full. The first vacancy that offered was, when there were

places for two; and our party, consisting of four, were crammed into the coach against the will of the others occupying it; as there was but barely room for nine, yet we were obliged to ride with eleven inside; but there was no remedy, the monopolists having all power in their hands. Besides this excess of numbers, we were overladen with baggage; and an arbitrary charge was made of forty dollars for our fare, and thirty dollars for our baggage; to which, for the same reason, we were obliged to submit.

We left Columbus on the morning of Monday May 13, and though we were crowded most inconveniently, and had not a single interesting fellow-passenger in all the group, we were heartily glad to escape. The day was unusually hot, and the roads so dusty as to keep us continually enveloped in a thick cloud, with every now and then some accident to the coach from its being so overladen, which obliged us to get out, and assist to repair the injury. The rails or fences of the roads were liberally used for this purpose; and it was fortunate that a supply of props, levers, and posts, was thus so near at hand.

It was about four o'clock when we reached Talbotton, where the whole community were agitated by a recent occurrence, which is strikingly characteristic of the state of society in these parts, and of the manner in which the people take the law into their own hands. It appears that there was a lady who had been settled for a few months as a teacher of music at Talbotton, but not having obtained many pupils, she had contracted more debts than she could pay, and went on to Columbus to seek better fortune there. At this place, she wished to hire or rent a house, but the

owner would not let it without some guarantee for the payment of the rent ; and some resident of Talbotton became her security for this. As it was not paid, however, in due time, and as other debts were also unliquidated, the lady was arrested at Columbus by process of law. This, the inhabitants of Talbotton chose to interpret as an insult to their town, from whence she had come ; and accordingly, a large number of the young men of Talbotton mounted their horses, armed themselves with weapons, and rode off to Columbus, where they effected her release, and assumed such an attitude that it was thought at one time, nothing short of a civil war between the two towns must follow. It had gradually cooled down, however, into a state of peace ; but no legal authorities interfered to stay the proceedings of these young cavaliers, who carried their point, and made what they called “public opinion” completely triumph over the laws.

The night was as disagreeably cold, as the day was inconveniently hot ; and from the impossibility of keeping out the drafts and currents of air, which rushed in at all the many openings that an American stage presents, we suffered much during the twenty-six hours, which it took to perform the distance of ninety miles to Macon.

There were two subjects, on which my opinions were sufficiently well known to make me obnoxious to two large classes of American citizens, and especially those of the South. The part I had taken in the British Parliament, in favour of the Abolition of Slavery in our West India possessions, was well known to every one who read the public jour-

nals ; and this was enough to occasion me to be classed with the hated yet dreaded class of the Abolitionists. The part I had taken both in England and in this country, in the war against Intemperance, was equally well known to all classes ; and this made me particularly obnoxious to all tavern-keepers, gamblers, frequenters of bar-rooms and grog-shops, and to cause me to be denounced as a Temperance Fanatic. And as in all these newly settled towns, like Columbus, Macon, and others of recent date, there are large numbers of reckless men ready for any riot or outrage, it is quite probable that if the least opportunity had been offered to them, they would have had great pleasure in making me their victim.

My servant indeed, overheard some half-drunken men around the door of one of the bar-rooms exulting in the idea of a probable "tarring and feathering," and recounting with great glee a feat lately performed on some stranger suspected by them of being an Abolitionist, whom they dragged from his bedroom, placed astride on a rail, carried him in mock-triumph through the town in this plight, and ended the penance by ducking him in a neighbouring swamp ! This story was afterwards confirmed to us by some of the most respectable inhabitants of the town, who assured us, that though they felt indignant at such conduct, and would willingly have prevented its occurrence, or secured the injured party redress, they could do neither without endangering their own lives and properties, so entirely could these reckless ruffians get and keep command of the town. As it was the season when the low gamblers and pickpockets come up from New Orleans and the

South, for the spring and summer months, the town was thought to be more than usually full of them, and it was therefore deemed best to remain quiet, and do nothing to provoke an outbreak, which if once roused, could not be so easily resisted or subdued.

It is worthy of remark, that when these parties were asked, as several of them were, what was the ground of their objection to me, not one stated the true cause, namely, my being hostile to Slavery, and friendly to Temperance, but one urged the fact of my "being an Englishman;" another said, I had "offered an insult to the country by saying that the Broadway of New York, though a noble street, was not so grand an avenue as the principal street of the ancient city of Alexandria;" and a third added, that I had "insulted the national character, by saying that the Bunker-hill monument at Boston, was not to be compared for size with the great pyramid of Egypt!" Such were the various pretexts which were alleged, instead of the real causes of offence; but the vindictiveness of the complainers, if once put into action, would not have been the less summary or less severe on that account.

Happily all was avoided, as on the morning of Thursday, the 16th of May, we obtained an extra coach for our journey forward to Milledgeville; and being provided by our kind friends with many comforts for the way, we left Macon about ten o'clock, agreeing to pay fifty dollars for the journey of thirty miles; the regular stage-fare being only twelve dollars for four persons, of which our party consisted. But the coach-monopoly continued in the same hands

all along the road, and we were, therefore, obliged to submit to any terms.

Though the roads were as bad as they could well be, the heat intense, and the dust almost suffocating, yet our journey was far more agreeable than the last we had performed. We had now at least the luxury of being alone, with complete control of our conveyance; and this was worth a great deal. The country through which we passed was more undulated than usual, and the wood more varied and agreeable. Among the trees were some few of the Pride of India, and some of the catalpa, both in full flower; but the latter, from its bright-green leaves and snowy-white blossoms, appeared to be much the most brilliant and beautiful of the two. Palmettos were also occasionally seen, mingling with the smaller trees of the undergrowth; and blackberries, whortleberries, and wild raspberries were also abundant.

Among the birds, the red-headed woodpecker was most frequently seen; and its bright and strongly contrasted colours of crimson, white, and black, made it a beautiful object, whether stationary or on the wing; while the manner in which it lights on the bare trunk of the tree, and holds its body perpendicular or parallel to the trunk itself, is peculiarly striking and characteristic. Woodpigeons, or turtle-doves occasionally uttered their tender, though somewhat mournful notes; and the brilliant red bird, called the Virginia nightingale, of which we saw a great number, agreeably responded to these tender tones, by richer, more melodious, and more varied warblings, in reply. Some of the harmless snakes of the country were seen on the rails or zig-zag fences

of the road, one of which, called the glass-snake, appeared to be of peculiar brightness ; such is said to be its tenacity of life, that it is believed to unite its several parts again after the body has been cut into pieces, and to live in the united form as if no injury had occurred to it. It is alleged, too, that a stroke made across the back of one of these snakes, will occasion it to split or divide into several fragments (and hence its name of the glass-snake), and each of these fragments preserves its power of locomotion as perfectly as the whole body.

As we approached Milledgeville, we met great numbers of persons on horseback and in gigs, from fifty to sixty at least, returning homeward from a convention that had been holding in that town, and which had adjourned this morning. When within five or six miles of Milledgeville, we approached the ridge of a hill, from whence a fine prospect of the town, and the rich valley in which it lies, is to be had. Being prepared for this by our driver, we halted to enjoy it, and were amply rewarded. We had seen nothing in the South, indeed, so beautiful, as a landscape ; for while the valley itself was broad, deep, and most luxuriant in wood and foliage, the town in its centre appeared to add greatly to its richness ; the State House or Capitol, the governor's residence, some few churches with spires, and a pretty cluster of white dwellings, surrounded by gardens, made up a charming picture.

We reached Milledgeville about eight o'clock, having been ten hours going thirty miles, though we were only four persons in the coach, had four horses all the way, and did not stop either to lunch or dine

on the road ; so that this may be regarded as the minimum of coach speed—three miles an hour ! We found the town in a complete bustle by the breaking up of the convention, and preparations for departure. The streets were full of vehicles of every description, horses, and people ; and all the verandas of the hotels and boarding-houses were crowded with persons lounging about on chairs in the open air. This is a habit common to all Americans, but universal in the South, where from 50 to 100 persons may be seen from sunset till bedtime, sitting in front of every hotel, and from ten to twenty persons in front of almost every private house, in all varieties of attitudes, except the natural and erect one ; the chairs are poised on one or both of their hind-posts, while the legs of the sitters are thrown into as great a variety of forms as ingenuity can devise, but they are rarely ever seen in the ordinary mode of sitting in use with us.

We were fortunate in being able to secure a vacant room for the night, though if we had arrived twenty-four hours earlier, this would have been impossible. In the principal hotel, at which we stopped, there were sixty beds contained in twenty-two rooms, some with two, some with three, and some with four in each ; and in these sixty beds more than 100 persons slept, while the passages, the verandas, and the sofas of the sitting-rooms, were all occupied ; and many were obliged to be quartered at private houses.

The members of the convention consisted of about 300 persons only ; but they had brought more than twice that number of visitors in their train. Its object was to consider the propriety of reducing the

number of members in both houses of the State legislature, to one-half their present amount. It had been found, by experience, that though in the multitude of counsellors there may be sometimes wisdom, yet that there is always too much talking; and as there are but two ways of correcting this evil, one by limiting the time to be occupied by each speaker, and the other to lessen their number, the convention, authorized by the legislature to propose the remedy they thought best, chose the latter. After a week's debate, they proposed, and carried by a large majority, a series of resolutions for reducing the senators from 96 to 42; and the members of the house of representatives from 276 to 138. Most persons anticipate great benefit from this; first in lessening the length of time consumed in each session; secondly, in causing greater attention to the nature of the laws passed; and, thirdly, in saving considerable expense to all parties. I have always thought that a similar reduction in the number of our legislators, or some restraint on the length of their speeches, or some better division of labour in the discharge of their duties, would be productive of corresponding benefits in England; and if a convention of delegates from the people could be legitimately formed, as in America, I have no doubt that such a reduction would be approved by a large majority. But, unhappily, this simple, yet efficient, mode of submitting all such questions to the real test of popular opinion, is unknown to our constitution. Therefore every great change, in the nature of a reform, can only be carried by years of agitation; nor even then until it approaches the very brink of

a revolution. These conventions, on the contrary, are admirable and easy safety-valves, by which political pressure is let off, like surplus steam, and all fearful explosions thereby avoided.

On the following morning, May 17, we were enabled to secure another extra coach to take us from Milledgeville to Warrenton, a distance of forty-six miles, for seventy-five dollars, or at the rate of about six shillings and ninepence sterling per mile. We were still, however, in the hands of the monopolists, and this accounted for all.

We left Milledgeville about eight o'clock, and as we passed through the town outward, we admired the good taste of the governor's official residence, a beautiful building, in the purest style of the Ionic order. But the Capitol, or State House, seemed to us less perfect in a near view than at a distance; it being a large white Gothic structure, in bad taste and heavy proportions, though forming a very striking object in the remote picture of Milledgeville. There was a large penitentiary also in the town, and from 300 to 400 dwellings; but though its situation struck me as peculiarly interesting in the general picture of the valley, the town itself had no particular object of interest beyond those already enumerated.

Our journey to Warrenton was through a beautiful country, with great varieties of wood, rich soil, and abundant productions in corn, oats, rye, and cotton, all giving promise of an abundant harvest. We changed horses every ten or twelve miles, and halted at Sparta for half an hour, yet we did not reach Warrenton till eight at night, having been twelve hours in performing forty-eight miles. As it

began to rain heavily about an hour before we halted, and the coaches are so loosely covered in as to afford very little protection, either from wet or cold, I suffered much from the change, and was glad enough to reach a resting-place. The hotel was not yet completed, but it was nevertheless occupied, though the rubbish of planks and shavings, and the noise of carpenters at work on the stairs and in the bedrooms, was not very agreeable to a weary invalid. The persons keeping it were a newly-married couple, and appeared more than usually anxious to please; but the means of accommodation were not so abundant as they evidently desired them to be. The taste for show and finery, which is very general among all classes in America, was here carried to its height; and though the rooms were small and mean, both in material and execution, the furniture was at once costly and tawdry; beautiful mahogany chairs, variegated marble tables, and rich mirrors, were seen in the same rooms with broken lamps, brass candlesticks, and common prints, in black frames, as pictures, such as might be had of hawkers and pedlars in England for a shilling apiece. On what was called the ladies' drawing-room, though without a carpet, there was seen, on an Italian marble table, two gilded French lamps, a hair-brush "kept for the use of the company," and a dirty ivory small-tooth comb, for general use also, full of grease and hairs; yet the servant, a negress, when desired to remove it, said this was its proper place, as it was always left there with the brush for those who wanted it! It should be stated, however, that this was the only

instance in which we had ever seen such an arrangement as this.

In this obscure village, containing only a few houses, and deriving all its attraction from being the present terminus of the railroad from Augusta, I had thought we should be wholly unknown, and counted therefore upon an undisturbed and early retirement to rest. I was surprised, however, to find that there were two individuals, one a Scotchman and the other an Englishman, to whom I was well known, though under different circumstances. The first had been a resident at Sheffield, employed in the establishment of Messrs Rodgers and Co. there; and had voted as one of my constituents in my first election to Parliament as member for that borough. The second was a glazier in London, at the time of the passing the Reform Bill; and had been employed to repair some of the windows of our residence in Piccadilly, broken by the mob in their indiscriminate attack on the houses of all those who did not illuminate on that occasion. Both of them had subsequently come to America to improve their condition; and both had succeeded in so doing; the first being now in business as a general merchant or trader, and the second being established as a master-builder, and each prospering in his new vocation. They appeared to be as glad to see us and talk with us as if we had been old friends or relatives. They added, that the sight of any one from "the old country" was the most agreeable that could meet their view; and the sound of their words, perfect music to their ears.

We left Warrenton at eight o'clock, going about four miles on the railroad, drawn by mules. These are in very general use in Georgia, and come mostly from Kentucky and Tennessee where they are bred in large numbers for exportation and sale. From hence we took the cars drawn by steam-engine, and reached Augusta at one o'clock, going fifty-five miles in five hours, at a cost of four and a half cents, or about two-pence per mile, instead of six shillings and nine pence, the rate of the preceding journey. This great increase of speed and reduction of expense make railroads even more advantageous here than in England; and from the zeal and vigour with which they are projecting and carrying forward all over the country, there is little doubt but that in a few years hence, all the high-roads will be traversed by them from Maine to Louisiana. Among our passengers was a sorrowing mother going to Augusta in search of a son of nine years old, whom the jockeys or horse-racers had decoyed away from his home, to train him as a rider. As she had never before seen a steam-engine, she was greatly alarmed at its appearance; and between her apprehensions of danger, and grief for her lost child, she seemed miserable in the extreme.

We remained a few days at Augusta and during the cool of the evenings, enjoyed some very pleasant drives in the neighbourhood of the town, especially at the little suburb called Summerville, or the Sand Hills. This is a village about three miles to the westward of Augusta, seated on a sandy elevation, about 150 feet above the level of the town, or 200 feet above the level of the river. The roads to it

are pleasantly sheltered by wood, though the soil is very sandy. On the summit of the hill is a military barrack and arsenal, built at the expense of the United States' government, as a depôt for troops, though there are rarely more than a small staff of officers here, who have a pleasant residence, and form an agreeable addition to the society of the place. The dwellings on the hills are all detached summer-residences of merchants and traders in easy circumstances, whose families live here during the hot months, instead of removing to more remote places. They are constructed after the fashion of bungalows in the East Indies, are frequently of one story only, and rarely more than two, with verandas or balconies all around, and embosomed in deep groves and gardens, so as to secure to them a perpetual shade, and make them very cool and agreeable abodes.

Among the trees here, we saw some fine specimens of the persimon, which grows to a height of not less than fifty feet, and about eighteen inches in diameter. The leaf is large, and of a deep green, and, as the branches spread well, it forms an extensive shade. It produces a fruit of an oval shape, about an inch and a half in length, of a reddish colour, and fleshy pulp, harsh to the taste when fresh, but said to be agreeable after the frost has shrivelled and softened it. The fruit adheres to the tree long after it has shed its leaves, but it ultimately drops off if not gathered, and is then greedily eaten by domestic animals. A single tree will often yield many bushels of this fruit, and it is sometimes pounded up with bran, and made into cakes. These are baked in the

ordinary way like bread, and kept dry, when they are from time to time used to make a kind of beer, which is done by dissolving the cakes in water, adding to this some hops and yeast, and fermenting it in the usual manner. Brandy even has been distilled from the fermented water in which the persimon fruit had been bruised, but this is rarely made an article of commerce, though frequently used by the households of farmers. The Cherokee plum, small, light, red, and of a fleshy pulp, is also abundant here, but the taste was more bitter than sweet, and far from agreeable; and the red mulberry is also seen, but the fruit is not much used.

Among the shrubs we were shown one that grew like a vine or creeper, called "the poison oak," the leaves of which exude some liquid which is particularly obnoxious to some constitutions, but does not much affect others. One medical gentleman, living in the town, a skilful and experienced botanist, is so susceptible of its influence, that if he should even walk close under one of these shrubs, when heated, and the wind should be blowing from the tree toward his person, he would feel a sort of torpor, with pains and aches in his face and other exposed parts of his person. The gentleman who accompanied us in our ride, a resident of Augusta, had nearly lost an eye, from brushing through the woods, and coming in contact with the sharp edge of one of the leaves that cut his cheek, and produced a violently poisoned wound, the mark of which he still bears in a reddened scar, though the wound was healed up thirteen years ago. Other persons he had seen handle the plant, and even rub themselves with its leaves, with impu-

nity ; but in general, any person touching the leaf while they are themselves in any state of perspiration rarely escapes a wound, or swellings, or other proofs of the poisonous influence exercised by this singular plant on the human system.

Some beautiful hydrangias, in full flower, adorned the gardens, as well as rich crimson dahliahs ; and the Carolina pink, which grows everywhere wild along the roads in great abundance, and the roots of which have been found to furnish an excellent remedy for diarrhœa, mingled agreeably with the other flowers of the garden. The locust-tree, producing a sort of nut or shell, the inside of which contains a substance between molasses and honey, is also abundant ; and the sassafras tree, which grows here also, is used, as with us, medicinally.

We saw caged in one of the summer dwellings that we visited, a smaller species of the mocking-bird than that which we had seen at Montgomery, called “the cat-bird,” but whose notes were not less varied or less sweet, though somewhat less powerful. Of this bird the American ornithologist, Wilson, mentions a very peculiar trait. He says—

“In passing through the woods in summer, I have sometimes amused myself with imitating the violent chirping or squeaking of young birds, in order to observe what different species were around me, for such sounds at such seasons in the woods, are no less alarming to the feathered tenants of the bushes, than the cry of fire or murder in the streets, is to the inhabitants of a large and populous city. On such occasions of alarm and consternation, the cat-bird is the first to make his appearance, not singly, but sometimes half a dozen at a time, flying from different quarters to the spot. At this time, those who are disposed to play with his feelings may almost throw him into fits, his emotion and

agitation are so great, at the distressful cries of what he supposes to be his suffering young. Other birds are variously affected ; but none show symptoms of such extreme suffering. He hurries backwards and forwards, with hanging wings and open mouth, calling out louder and faster, and actually screaming with distress, till he appears hoarse with his exertion. He attempts no offensive means ; but he bewails, he implores, in the most pathetic terms with which Nature has supplied him, and with an agony of feeling which is truly affecting. Every feathered neighbour within hearing, hastens to the place to learn the cause of this alarm, peeping about with looks of consternation and sympathy."

In our rambles through the woods, we obtained some of the locusts, as they are here called, which are found in considerable numbers at certain seasons. Like the African and Asiatic locusts, these commit great havoc on the vegetation when their numbers are large. The American locust is larger and thicker in the body than the locust of Arabia and Egypt, and is darker also in its colour. Like the Eastern species, it is furnished with double wings, a thick and a thin pair ; but it does not appear to have its legs formed for leaping great distances, like the grass-hopper tribe, which the Eastern locusts have. Its head is large, its eyes protruding at each side, and its whole frame is strong and thick. The female insect is furnished with a long sharp spear, or drill, about the thickness of a large pin, of a hard strong substance, which lies along the under part of its body ; and with this it drills a hole through the smaller branches of trees, quite into the centre. In this hole, it deposits its eggs through the borer, which, though so strong, is a hollow tube. They perforate many holes in the same branch, and the tree thus wounded usually withers ; while the numbers of

locusts produced is considerable. The male locust has under its wing an extremely thin membrane, which is ribbed in tubes ; and the inflation of which by the animal itself, is said to constitute their music ; while others think the sound is produced by their rubbing or grating this membrane against the hard edges of the scaly parts underneath the body. During our stay at Augusta, we learnt, from resident families there, some curious facts respecting the state of society, and peculiarities of opinion. It appears, that almost all the married persons resident here, become members or communicants of some church ; and it is hardly thought reputable not to be associated with some religious body or other. Up to the period of marriage however, it is not deemed so necessary ; and few or none of the unmarried persons are therefore members. To all who are members, dancing is strictly prohibited ; and it is thought highly improper even to mix in large parties where dancing is practised by others, though the members should not join in the exercise.

It is deemed their duty not to countenance this amusement, even by their presence. No members of churches, as heads of families, therefore, ever give a party for dancing ; and if any such exercise is enjoyed, it can only be by the unmarried. But of late, a curious evasion of this prohibition has been practised with success in this manner :—The family give what is called “a social party,” to which a large number are invited to take tea, and spend the evening. When tea is over, some young lady places herself at the piano, and strikes up a quadrille. Presently a few couples rise, and speedily a “spontaneous and unpremeditated dance” is got up, and continued

with great spirit till midnight. This point has been submitted, it is said, to the judgment of the clergy ; who have decided, that if the carpets were taken up, and violins employed, and ball-dresses used, then it would be unequivocally “a dance,” and, as such, clearly sinful. But the carpets being down, no music used but that of a pianoforte, and the ladies not in ball-costume, it could not be considered anything more than a “social party,” and in this all might innocently join,

On the subject of religious revivals, also, we heard some curious particulars. There are fixed periods of the year in which these are regularly got up, in Georgia and the Carolinas, as in a prescribed circuit. The periods chosen are those in which there is the least business doing in the towns or on the plantations. The ministers, among whom those of the Methodist and Baptist persuasions take the lead, then organize the proceedings in such a manner as to produce considerable effect ; and thus add every year to the number of their communicants. It is said that this is sometimes done in schools and colleges, where youths of nine to fifteen are so wrought upon as to proclaim themselves converts, and make public profession of a new birth ; but it is doubted by the less zealous and enthusiastic, whether the instances in which these conversions are permanent are so numerous as those in which the parties fall off, and, by a reaction, oscillate to the opposite extreme of indifference, or something worse.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Journey from Augusta to Charleston by railroad—Alligators and vultures—Unhealthiness of the rice-grounds—Ghastly complexions of the whites—Practice of eating a sweet kind of clay—Arrival at Charleston—Sudden street-duel—Affrays and murders in Southern States—Effects produced by the system of Slavery—Picture of the present distress in Mississippi—Jefferson's opinion of the examples of Slavery—Dread of Abolition—Resemblance of the Battery of Charleston to that of New York—Episcopal churches—Excursion in the Neptune to Sullivan's Island—Temperance meeting—"God save the King," by an American choir—Commercial convention—New military guardhouse—Insurrection of the slaves—Difficulties in the way of immediate emancipation—The trinket-worm—Hand-writing of the Southern ladies—Fireflies from Havannah.

ON Saturday, the 25th of May, we left Augusta at five in the morning, and crossing over the Savannah river by the bridge, we got into the railroad cars at the village of Hamburgh, and started on our journey to Charleston at six o'clock. This railroad was originally laid across all the hollow and swampy parts of the way on the ends of perpendicular posts; and in many places these rose to a height of twenty feet above the lower level; so that a turn off the road by the engine and cars would have been fatal to all embarked in them; and even the looking over on each side affected the passengers disagreeably. It was found, indeed, to be so objectionable, that for the last year a number of men have been employed filling up these hollows, and the work is now nearly

complete. This has occasioned, however, so much outlay of expense, that the State Legislature has passed an act authorizing the directors of the railroad to raise the fare from six to ten dollars, and to keep it at this rate till the outlay is repaid. The whole length of the road is 126 miles. In the early part of the journey we were drawn up an inclined plane by a stationary engine—the length of the plane being 3,800 feet, and the elevation 180 feet; the whole ascent for the first sixteen miles being 360 feet, and the descent from thence to Charleston, 510 feet.

At half-past seven, we stopped to breakfast, just beyond the inclined plane, and had better fare than we had for some time seen in such halting-places on the road. A series of curtain-fans, drawn by a rope, and oscillating longitudinally over the breakfast-table, was used to drive off the flies, and it produced an agreeable though slight breeze, very inferior to the fine full sweep of the punkah used in India, which is pulled laterally across and above the table; and which is at once so ornamental and efficient, that it is surprising it is not universally adopted in all warm countries, and even in cold ones during the heat of the summer.

Nearly the whole of the country through which we passed was level, and covered with wood, chiefly pine, but with a mixture of oaks of various kinds, and shrubs and flowers of great beauty and variety. We saw, as we approached the sea-coast, several splendid magnolia trees full of superb white flowers, and catalpas scarcely inferior to them either in size or beauty. The festoons of moss hanging on the branches of other trees announced our approach to the swamps;

and for many miles of the latter portion of our way, the waters of the marshes and morasses bordered the road on each side. In these we saw several alligators, as the warm weather brings them out in numbers at this season of the year. Large vultures, of the kind called turkey-buzzards, were also more abundant than we had seen them elsewhere, flocks of fifteen and twenty at a time being started from the carrion, on which they were feeding, by the rushing by of the engine and cars. It is said of these birds that they sometimes gorge themselves so immoderately on their prey, as to be unable to rise or fly, so that they may be killed or caught without difficulty. They are never molested, however; for their utility, in clearing off putrescent animal matter from the ground, is such as to make all parties encourage their labours; and none who are acquainted with their habits would ever attempt to catch them; for they disgorge, on those attempting this, the whole contents of their stomach: Nature having suggested this mode of offence and defence, as even more effectual than their beaks and talons, formidable as both these are.

Within twenty miles of Charleston, the rice-fields begin to appear; and though at this season they look green and promising, it is from this period till the autumn that the vicinity of the rice-grounds are so unhealthy, as to induce all white people, who can afford it, to avoid sleeping in their neighbourhood. After the 5th of June, it is said that no white person can sleep in the country within ten miles of Charleston, without getting an attack of ague and fever. The country residences are, therefore, then deserted,

and left almost entirely to the care of negroes. We saw some young white boys of fourteen or fifteen years of age, children of poor overseers, born and bred in this region, and more ghastly and cadaverous complexions I never remember to have seen. One of our fellow-passengers, a resident of Charleston, said, that the deathlike and livid paleness of complexion was greatly augmented by the practice of eating a sweetish kind of clay, which he represented to be quite general among the poor whites here. The Baron Humboldt mentions having met with some Indians in Central America, called Otomais, between Esmeralda and Angostura, in descending the Orinoco river, who ate clay as food, when the swelling of the rivers cut off their supply of fish and turtle, on which they usually subsist. But the Americans here do not take the sweet clay as a substitute for food, since they are never without abundant supplies of the kinds in use by them; but they contract an artificial and vitiated taste for it, as for tobacco, and then find it difficult to leave it off; so powerfully do the morbid appetites enslave a large portion of mankind—from the opium of China to the tobacco of Virginia, and from the beer of England and the whisky of Ireland to the clay of Carolina and the banks of the Orinoco.

We reached Charleston about three o'clock, having been nine hours on the road, and, allowing for stoppages, completed the journey at the rate of about fifteen miles in the hour all the way. We took up our quarters at the Planters' Hotel, and remained there a fortnight, during which we were much more comfortably accommodated than on our first visit; and under the new management introduced into it,

since our former stay here, we found improvement in every department; the table especially being made equal to any in the United States.

On the day of our arrival in Charleston, May 25, there was a duel fought in the public street, and in the presence of many people, none of whom interfered to prevent it. Two young men from the country were in attendance at the Court of Law then sitting in Charleston, and some angry words having passed between them, there was an immediate challenge given and accepted; when the parties, either having pistols with them, or procuring them very speedily, repaired to the public street, and there, in the middle of the day, and in the presence of several spectators and passers-by, measured off twelve paces and exchanged fire. One of the combatants was shot through the cheek, and disfigured for life, and the other was slightly wounded in the thigh. The parties then withdrew from the combat, but no notice was taken of the affair by the public authorities, and with the community it excited no sensation beyond the passing hour!

The papers from other parts of the Southern States that reached us about this period, teemed with similar cases, especially in Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Mississippi. The editors recording these events, though heretofore indifferent to such transactions, seem to be at last roused by their increased frequency, to a sense of shame or sorrow, and express themselves accordingly.

In the State of Mississippi, all law, civil and criminal, seemed to be at a stand. Public meetings had been recently held, at which the speakers had

proposed, and the hearers passed resolutions, to the effect that they would offer resistance in a body, to the execution of all writs or other civil processes for the seizure and sale of goods ; and judges administering the criminal law, had been insulted, and even struck, on the bench. This frenzy and disorder is no doubt chiefly the offspring of extreme distress ; that distress, the result of recklessness and undue indulgence of the passions ; and this recklessness, to a great extent the offspring of the system of Slavery.

During my stay in this country, all I have yet seen has tended to confirm me in the opinion that Slavery, as a system, by its influence on those brought up surrounded by it, produces these two effects—1st. It indisposes men who are free, to use any kind of labour which can be done by slaves ; and leads them to devise means of avoiding regular and laborious occupations, by entering into reckless and extravagant speculations. 2ndly It furnishes constant temptation and opportunity for the indulgence of the passions ; it begets a taste for extravagance and a love of display, as the means of assuming and exhibiting a superiority of condition, and exacting the homage paid to supposed wealth. 3rdly. It trains the free child in the constant exercise of arbitrary power over his little slave-companions ; it makes him impatient of contradiction from any source, as he is always accustomed to command ; and it engenders such a habit of quick resentment and instant retaliation, for any injury, real or supposed, by the frequent opportunities of its indulgence on unresisting and helpless slaves, that at length it forms a part of the

individual's nature, and can neither be conquered nor restrained.

On the subject of that aversion to labour which is felt by all white people where slaves exist, it is hardly necessary to say a word, or to offer proof beyond assertion, as this effect is well known to all, and to none better than to slaveholders themselves. But on the subject of love of display, as engendered by this system, I may state, that in conversation with persons engaged in business, and practically acquainted with the habits of the South, I was assured that the instances in which men lived within their income were extremely rare; while those in which they lived beyond it, were so common as almost to merit the term universal. Of the merchants and traders in Mississippi especially, it had been the general custom for them to make a visit to New York in the autumn, and, after visiting the fashionable watering-places, to lay in a large stock of goods on credit in New York, for sale in Mississippi. And the eagerness of the New York importer to force his sales, for the sake of appearing to do an extensive business, and thus bolstering up his own credit, is scarcely less than that of the Mississippi buyer to invest largely without payment, and go back with an immense supply. This supply was readily sold, either on credit, or for local bank-notes, which were freely advanced, on almost any security, to persons wishing to speculate. The proceeds were then invested by the Mississippi trader in lands, negroes, and houses. He forthwith became an extensive planter; and in this capacity he could raise money on his lands and

slaves by mortgage, and get advances from New York merchants on his crops of cotton before they were grown. In this manner many an adventurer from the State of Mississippi, not worth 100 dollars, would obtain credit for 50,000 ; become nominally possessed of plantations worth 100,000 ; and setting up carriages, building villas, and surrounding himself with all kinds of luxuries, would live at the rate of a man worth 1,000,000. The ladies of such a family would of course have their share of expenditure in ornament and fashion ; and it is thought that more gold watches and jewelry of every description had been sold and worn in the State of Mississippi, within the last three years, than in any of the oldest States of the Union. When the time came round for payments, that which had been expended in thoughtless extravagance and display, could not of course be recalled ; and the result may be seen by the following picture, drawn by a Mississippi editor, in the midst of the scene itself—

“ DISTRESSING TIMES IN MISSISSIPPI.—Never in the history of Mississippi has there been such a pressure in monetary affairs as at the present moment ; and never, we imagine, has the *future* been shrouded in a deeper and more portentous gloom than at this time. Here in the city of Vicksburg, and the county of Warren, the darkest days of 1837 presented but a faint picture to what is now exhibited, and from every town and county in the State we have the same melancholy prospect. The whole community is literally upon the *rack*, and the best men in the country find it impossible to raise any amount of money, except at the most ruinous sacrifices. We are entirely destitute of a circulating medium, while thousands upon thousands are pressing for the collection of their claims—suit after suit is instituted until the docket is becoming swelled beyond any former precedent. Property is sold daily in our streets for one-fourth its value.—Men

give up all they possess to satisfy their creditors, see their property knocked down under the hammer of the sheriff or the marshal, at one-fourth at least of its value, and find themselves beggars, so far as present means can make them so, and still hopelessly involved. A gentleman informs us that a lot of ground in this city, which one year ago brought 5,000 dollars, was sold last week for less than 500; and yet, horrible as affairs are here, they are trifling to what we hear from Yazoo, Holmes, Hinds, &c. We are informed that land and negroes are selling under execution for a fifth of their real value. Negroes, first-rate hands, that will generally command 1,000 dollars, have sold for less than 200, while some of the best plantations in the State are being sacrificed for one-tenth their value. When or where this is to stop, God only knows. When, or from whence relief is to come, we know not; but unless relief does come, and come speedily, this country will present a scene of wide-spread ruin and desolation, such as has never been witnessed before. The prospect is frightful to contemplate."—*Vicksburg Whig*.*

The effect of the Slave system to engender the vindictive passions, and to present continual opportunities for their exercise, was clearly perceived by one of the most sagacious minds of this country. Jefferson, the principal framer of the Declaration of American Independence, who, himself a slave-owner, thus expresses himself in his "Notes on Virginia:"—

"There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it, for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave, he is learning to do what he

* This is the State, Mississippi, which has since been the first to advocate the dishonest doctrine of "repudiation," or refusal to acknowledge the obligation of paying its public debt.

sees others do. If a parent could find no motive, either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion toward his slave, it should always be a sufficient one, that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms ; the child looks on, and catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to his worst of passions, and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy, who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances."

Hence the universal irritability of temper, impatience of contradiction, and constant readiness to avenge every imaginary insult with instant and deadly punishment of the offender. Hence the frequent affrays, duels, street-fights, shootings, stabblings, and assassinations, of which every part of the South, but more especially the newer States, is so full—producing, it is believed, five times as large a proportion of these crimes to population, as is witnessed in the North, and ten times as large a proportion as is seen in any of the free countries of Europe. So long, indeed, as the slaves continue to increase in numbers beyond their masters, and coercive measures towards them may seem to be more necessary, because of such increase augmenting the danger of their revolt, so long the state of things will get worse ; and as fear is a prolific source of cruelty, the very fears of the whites, which are continually increasing every year, will cause a greater exercise of tyranny than ever. How these fears ooze out in almost everything they say or do, may be seen by the following circumstance. The most religious and moral of the Southern population, have been long awakened to the cause of Temperance, and are very

desirous of promoting it in this State, but as almost all the Temperance publications are issued in the North, they are literally afraid of their encouraging their circulation here, lest, by any oversight or inadvertence on the part of the editor, some paragraph favourable to Abolition should appear: for it could only be by oversight, as all these publications professedly steer clear of every debateable subject in religion and politics, purposely to obtain a greater number of readers. The dread, however, of even an occasional line against Slavery, is sufficient to induce them to project the establishment of a Southern Temperance Advocate, which it is purposed to publish in Columbia, the capital of South Carolina; and as evidence of this dread, I copy from the printed circular of the State Temperance Society, issued during my stay in Charleston, the following paragraph—

“While it is not denied that the valuable Temperance papers published at Philadelphia and elsewhere, might be usefully circulated in this State, the committee are still fully persuaded that no foreign publication can meet the exigencies of the case, or supersede the urgent demand for a Temperance Periodical at home. For even if Northern Papers were *free from all TAINT or SUSPICION of Abolition TENDENCIES*, and if it were practicable by any conceivable means to bring them into general circulation, there would still be an utter failure in effecting the great object. These Northern Journals would be wholly destitute of local information, that *adaptation* of facts and details, of appeals and illustrations, to the peculiar *taste* and *feelings* of Carolinians, which will constitute the high value and efficiency of our own Temperance Journal. The impulse which can alone give energy and success to our labours, and a triumphant extension to our principles, must come from the press, and that press must be our own, managed and controlled by ourselves.”

During our second stay in Charleston, the weather was delightful ; and though it was the last week in May, and the first week in June, the temperature was not nearly so high as it was in Philadelphia and New York about the same time last year, the thermometer in these two cities being often above 90°, while here it did not exceed 82°, and was frequently below 80°. There were several refreshing falls of rain, ushered in, as within the tropics, by terrific storms of thunder and lightning, and resembling in many respects the setting in or breaking up of the monsoons in India. Throughout the whole of the day, there was an invigorating sea-breeze, and at night it was sufficiently cool to make even a blanket agreeable.

The favourite evening promenade at this season is the Battery, a fine walk along the water's edge, at the confluence of the two rivers, Ashley and Cooper, which flow down on the east and west of the town, and by their union form the harbour of Charleston, as the East river and the North river form by their union the harbour of New York. The Battery at Charleston has recently undergone great improvement, and is now one of the pleasantest walks imaginable. The greater number of the visitors come in carriages, and while some alight to enjoy the walk, others prefer the slow drive around the road called the South Bay. The ladies are without caps or bonnets, in dinner-dress, and the carriages are all open, so that it strikingly reminded me of "The Course," at Calcutta. There were not less, we thought, than 200 carriages out on one of the fine evenings that we visited the Battery ; there being more families who keep carriages in Charleston than

in any city of the United States, more than even in Boston, Philadelphia, or New York, though its population, including the suburbs, does not exceed 30,000, while the three other cities have 100,000, 200,000, and 300,000 inhabitants respectively: indeed, the practice of riding and driving is so general in this city, that a family is hardly deemed within the circle of genteel society, if they do not keep their own carriage.

During our second stay in Charleston, I attended public worship in the two episcopal churches, St. Michael's and St. Philip's. The former is a fine old structure, so exactly like the English metropolitan churches built in the reign of Queen Anne, that it was difficult not to imagine one's-self in London, while seated in it. The interior resembled very strikingly the church of St. Martin's, Charing Cross. St. Philip's is higher, and more elegant, in its interior especially, having been recently rebuilt, after the greater part of it was destroyed by fire, and the restoration is in the best architectural taste. An insufficiency of funds, however, prevented their rebuilding the tower as it anciently stood: and the present substitute for it greatly mars the beauty of the exterior. In this church was the only instance we had yet met with in the United States, of a clerk assisting in the service, by reading the responses, and giving out the psalms. He did not, however, sit beneath the clergyman in a desk, as with us, nor did he wear a gown; but he occupied a corner-pew at the end of the aisle nearest the pulpit, and rose from thence to give out the words to be sung. The nasal tone and broad pronunciation in which he did this, was so perfectly clerk-like, that

I thought he must have been imported direct from England, or else that his office must have been hereditary. I learnt, on subsequent inquiry, that in Colonial times every church had its clerk ; and that this practice continued for some time after the revolution. But the demand for labour of every kind caused it to be difficult to procure clerks, except at such salaries as would be deemed too high, and they have gradually been discontinued, this at St. Philip's church, being apparently the last of his race ; so that, at his death, the species will perhaps become entirely extinct, like the mammoth of his own continent.

During our absence, great progress had been made in the erection of the new buildings, to replace those destroyed by the late fire ; and these being all built of brick, were calculated to add much to the beauty as well as the security of the town. Persons had been allowed to put up temporary wooden buildings for their immediate necessities ; but the term of this permission having expired on the first of June, these were all taken down, to give place to more substantial structures in their stead. What added much to the desolate appearance of the ruined masses on which the work of removal and restoration had not yet been begun, was the great number of vultures that were seen seated on the fallen heaps, as if brooding over the solitude and ruin around them. In other parts of the city these birds were as numerous as the large storks called Adjutants, in Calcutta ; and they answer the same useful purpose, in devouring the animal substances of the streets, and preventing putrescent effluvia from engendering disease. To secure them in the constant discharge of this duty, a penalty

of twenty-five dollars each, is imposed on all persons who may shoot or kill any of these scavenger-birds, so that they multiply rapidly. The refuse-carrion of the streets and yards not being sufficient to satisfy their hunger, they congregate about the markets so thickly, and watch their opportunities so narrowly, that if the keeper of a meat-stall turns his back or leaves his post for a minute, he is sure to have whatever portable piece of meat may be on the stall carried off by the beak and talons of the rapacious turkey-buzzard, whom, however, he dare not kill, though caught in the act of the theft, without incurring the penalty of twenty-five dollars for the destruction of this useful public servant.

The fruits and vegetables of these markets were all of a very inferior kind; and I learnt the curious fact, that few or none of the description of vegetables used by the resident families here, are grown in Carolina, but almost all are imported from the North. These vegetables, including potatoes, cabbage, cauliflowers, turnips, carrots, asparagus, &c. will not grow more than once from the original seed, and will not reproduce, so that there is no security of a sufficient supply but by importation. In consequence of this, the supply is scanty in quantity, and greatly inferior in quality, from the freshness of the vegetables having faded before they get to the consumers' hands.

During our stay here, we made a very pleasant evening's excursion in a noble steam-vessel called the *Neptune*, commanded by Captain Pennoyer, who took a party from Charleston down to the bar of entrance to the harbour, and back. In our way we passed by Sullivan's Island, where the families of the

city retire to pleasant marine villas during the hot months, as well as James Island, on the opposite side of the harbour, from whence they are obliged to remove at the same season because of its unhealthiness. The difference is this, that at Sullivan's Island there is a sandy beach washed on all sides by the sea, with little or no vegetation and no swamps; while at James Island which is cut off from the continent by a slight creek only, the swampy ground and malaria engendered by rank vegetation renders it almost fatal to strangers, and dangerous even to natives to sleep on it from the 1st of June to the 1st of October, which is the case also with all the low grounds within ten miles of Charleston, inland.

The steamer in which we made our excursion was built at New York for the purpose of conveying passengers between that port and Charleston. She was the most splendid steam-vessel I had seen in the South, having cost 137,000 dollars, or nearly 30,000*l.* sterling. Her length was 220 feet, her measurement about 700 tons, and her two engines of 250-horse power. Her interior arrangements were admirable, and her furniture and fittings superb. In consequence, however, of the great check to public confidence, occasioned by the loss of the Home and Pulaski steamers going from this port and Savannah by sea, few persons were willing to risk the danger; but the complete success of the Great Western and Liverpool in crossing the Atlantic; and still more the safe arrival of the little Iron steam-boat Stockton, of thirty tons, built in England for the Rariton canal, and just arrived at New York, being the smallest vessel of any kind that ever crossed the

Western Ocean, have contributed to revive public confidence ; and already upwards of a hundred berths were engaged in the Neptune, to go from hence to New York, at thirty dollars each. During the great depression, however, when coast-navigation by steam was almost given up, this beautiful vessel lay idle ; and was then sold by her owners, who had given up all hope of making her profitable, and bought by her present proprietors for 28,000 dollars about a fifth of her original cost, though scarcely two years old—such are the fluctuations in the value of property here, in a short space of time !

On the last Sunday of our stay in Charleston, I assisted at a public meeting convened for the advocacy of the Temperance cause, and for the purpose of aiding the establishment of a State Temperance journal at Columbia. The meeting was held in the Circular Church of the Presbyterians, and the audience was at least 2,000 in number. The Honourable Mr. Pinckney, formerly member of Congress from this State, and now mayor of Charleston, took the chair ; and after an anthem by the choir, and prayer from the clergyman, the usual way in which all Temperance Meetings are opened in this country, Mr. Pinckney delivered an admirable speech, quite worthy of the high reputation he so deservedly enjoys. The venerable Judge Lee followed, in a less eloquent, but equally useful appeal, embodying many important facts, and offering very solid reasons in support of his views.* The rest of the evening was occupied by myself ; and the joint influence of the three addresses was such as to bring a large addition of numbers to

* This venerable judge has since deceased.

the avowed and enlisted friends of the Temperance cause, and to ensure ample support for the paper about to be established. The committee was instructed to divide their body into several parties, and personally to canvass each of the wards for subscribers, this being the efficient and business-like manner in which they conduct affairs of this description in America. At the close of the meeting, a second anthem was sung by the choir, to the British national air of "God save the King," which I was afterwards told was done in compliment to the nation to which I belonged. I had been announced, indeed, to the meeting, by the judge, as "the distinguished *foreigner*;" which sounded strangely in my ears, when all around me—the place, the people, the language, and even the object of our meeting—seemed so thoroughly English, that I could scarcely think I was in a foreign land, more especially as the members of my own family, who accompanied me in this tour, were near me at the time. This was the second occasion on which the national air had been selected by the choir in compliment to the nation from whence I came, at public meetings in which I had taken a part. There is, indeed, a sincere respect for England and English people, felt by all the more intelligent and opulent classes, and a high veneration entertained for "the land of their fathers" by most of the learned and eminent lawyers and statesmen of America; while there is a great readiness on the part of all classes, to give expression to this feeling, wherever occasions present themselves in which this can be safely done without any compromise of the republican principle, or any derogation

tion to the national sentiment of superiority as well as independence.

In the course of the mayor's speech, advertence was made to the late commercial convention which had held its sittings in Charleston, and the great object of which was to throw off as much as possible the dependence of the South on the States of the North, for the commerce with Europe now conducted through that circuitous channel. The idea of restoring a direct trade between this port and the various countries of Europe, is indeed one of the most popular of the present moment. My own conviction is, however, that were it not for a feeling of intense hatred towards the Abolitionists, and the great reluctance felt by all classes here to contribute in any way to their profit, which by the present mode of doing business all classes here are assisting to augment, this effort to restore a direct trade would not be so strenuously sustained. At the same time, it must be admitted, that there is abundant reason, independently of such feeling, in the people of the South, to desire to render themselves independent of all other sections of the Union; but this feeling greatly quickens the zeal of many, who but for this would be at least indifferent. Their objections to the tariff of the North to protect northern manufactures, is also very strong, and justly so, because it undoubtedly taxes the Southern States, who are the chief producers, for the benefit of the Northern States, who are the chief manufacturers: and, therefore, they are all advocates for a free and unrestricted trade. Mr. Jefferson agreed with them in this last view, though he thought every extension of foreign

commerce beyond selling freely to all who came to buy, and buying freely of all who came to sell—an evil : but there is so much good sense in his admirable observations on this subject, that they are worth transcribing. This is the passage—

“ Young as we are, and with such a country before us, to fill with people and with happiness, we should point in that direction the whole generative force of Nature, wasting none of it in efforts of mutual destruction. It should be our endeavour to cultivate the peace and friendship of every nation, even of that which has injured us most, when we shall have carried our point against her. Our interest will be to throw open the doors of commerce, and to knock off all its shackles, giving perfect freedom to all persons for the vent of whatever they may choose to bring into our ports, and asking the same in theirs. Never was so much false arithmetic employed on any subject, as that which has been employed to persuade nations that it is their interest to go to war. Were the money which it has cost to gain, at the close of a long war, a little town, or a little territory, the right to cut wood here, or to catch fish there, expended in improving what they already possess, in making roads, opening rivers, building ports, improving the arts, and finding employment for their idle poor, it would render them much stronger, much wealthier, much happier. This, I hope, will be our wisdom. And, perhaps, to remove as much as possible all occasions of making war, it might be better for us to abandon the ocean altogether, that being the element whereon we shall be exposed to jostle with other nations; to leave to others to bring what we shall want, and to carry what we can spare. This would make us invulnerable to Europe, by offering none of our property to prize; and would turn all our citizens to the cultivation of the earth: and I repeat it again, cultivators of the earth are the most virtuous and independent citizens.”

This wise counsel, offered fifty years ago, when the future was buried in the womb of time, has not been followed. If it had been, the last war with England, growing out of the right of searching

ships and the impressment of seamen, would not have taken place; all the disputes about the tariff of the Northern states, and the nullification of the Southern states, would have been avoided: the conflict about the custody of the "surplus revenue," would never have taken place, and all the recent troubles about the Maine boundary would also have been avoided. If Mr. Jefferson's views on the subject of slavery, which were to give freedom to every child born after a certain date, had been also adopted, there would not by this time have been a single slave in the United States, and all the difficulties of that grave question would have been overcome; though now it threatens more fearful consequences in its issue than any other impending cause.

In connection with this subject it may be mentioned, that a new and stately guard-house for the military has recently been erected at the corner of Meeting and Broad streets, nearly in the centre of the city. The four great public edifices that occupy the four respective corners of the point of intersection between the streets named, are the following, placed in the order of the dates of their erection. The oldest and first built is St. Michael's Church, established to preach the gospel of *freedom* and *peace*: the next in order was the City Hall, built to form the seat of municipal government for the protection of the *rights* of the citizens: the third was the Court House, for the administration of the *laws* of the state: and the fourth, built in 1839, is the Guard House for the military, the chief use of which is to watch and crush any attempt at insurrection by the *slaves*! These four edifices, occupying the four corners of

two intersecting streets, are within fifty or sixty feet of each other, but the first and the last seemed to me to stand in painful contrast as to objects ; especially when, every evening, the bell of the Christian church is tolled at nine o'clock, to warn all slaves and coloured people to repair to their homes, as it is not permitted to them, without a pass, to be in the streets after a fixed hour at night. When the church-bell has ceased its office of warning, the drums of the military guard-house take up the strain, and continue the admonition for a quarter of an hour longer. The last time I passed the guard-house, and saw the negroes hurrying to their masters' houses, from the different quarters of the town, the drums and fifes were playing the air of—

“ Scots ! wha hae wi' Wallace bled.”

But the band being wholly formed of negroes, were no doubt unconscious of the import of the song attached to this air, as they are not permitted by law to be taught to read ; and therefore were probably unacquainted with the stirring lines of that noble appeal :

“ Who would be a traitor knave ?

Who would fill a coward's grave ?

Who so *base* as be a *slave* ?”

for the musicians were themselves slaves, and the sound of their music was to warn their fellow-slaves to hasten from wherever they might then be, to the dwellings of their masters.

A resident gentleman of Charleston, himself possessing several slaves, described to me the alarm created, about fifteen years ago, by the discovery of an extended plot and conspiracy for an insurrection

of the blacks, on which occasion, some twenty of the ringleaders were seized, tried by a jury of white freeholders, and sentenced to death. To strike the greater terror into the rest, these twenty were drawn through the streets to the place of execution, in carts, each seated on the coffin that was to contain his body, with his grave-clothes already on; and they were then all hung up in a row, and kept there some time, as a warning to the survivors of what would be their fate, if they dared to follow their example. Since then, the slave-population have been comparatively quiet, though their numbers have greatly increased. It is alleged, and I believe with truth, that since then, also, they have been much better treated, so that instances of extreme cruelty are very rare, especially in the city, where public opinion would manifest itself in severe censures on any master exercising it; but on the plantations in the country, scenes still occur which the better-disposed of the slaveholders themselves condemn as altogether indefensible.

The most painful view of this subject is, the hopelessness of any relief, except by a crisis or convulsion, which every one must dread and deplore. The prejudices of the whites over all the South, appear to me to be so rooted and so strong against even entertaining any proposition on the subject of emancipation, that one might as well attempt to still the tempest by reason, as to move them even to discuss the question. Hence all their presses are silent on the subject. Hence, even from their pulpits, not the most distant allusion is ever made to the matter. And hence, in private conversation, but one strain

is ever heard—denunciation of the Abolitionists as fanatics, incendiaries, and plunderers. All support each other in the assurance that “the slaves are far better off than the working population of Europe,” and all contend “that they are so happy that they would not *have* their freedom, if offered to them.” Nevertheless the slaves constantly *take* this liberty without its being offered to them, by running away from their masters; and in the Charleston Mercury of the 6th of June, the day on which these lines are written, I perceive a long string of advertised runaway slaves, each preceded by the well-known little black figure of a negro running off as fast as he can, with a bundle of his few miserable garments packed in a handkerchief, and carried at the end of a stick; from which I select only one example.

“FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.

“Run away on the 26th of December last, a negro man, named CÆSAR, about 40 years old, jet-black complexion, round forehead, a little bald, slight made, and about 5 feet 6 inches high. He was raised in the family of Bennett, of Christ Church, and was some time since owned by Mr. Chisolm, who owns a Rice Mill, and by Mr. Greer, of St. Andrew’s Parish, from both of whom he ran away. He has a wife on the plantation of Dr. Baily, and a daughter belonging to Mr. Venning, of Christ Church parish, *where he has been recently seen*. He has followed the occupation of a fisherman, and been seen to go out in the boats from South Bay. The above reward will be paid on his delivery at the Work House.

“May 29.”

“ALEX. M’DONALD.”

It is confessed, by this announcement, that this Cæsar had thus tried to escape from no less than three successive masters; that he had a wife and daughter, but that they were sold as slaves to other

owners ; and that he had been recently seen with them—the most natural thing in the world for a being who possessed any domestic affections, but which, in him, was a crime, to be punished with apprehension, imprisonment, and possibly flogging besides. Such instances are of daily occurrence all over the South ; and prove, that although the domestic slaves, used merely as personal attendants on ladies and gentlemen, are well fed, well clad, and kindly treated, which is almost uniformly the case with this class ; yet that the great bulk of the slave-population, on the plantations, in gangs as labourers, and hired out to work for their masters, are nearly all anxious to escape from their bondage, and avail themselves of every safe opportunity of so doing, when not deterred by the fear of detection, and the terror of the punishment which they know will then await them.

In this condition they will probably remain for some years yet to come. The experiment of emancipation in the British West Indies seems, for the present, at least, to have acted in the very opposite way to that which might have been expected, though before long it will impress them very differently. The planters of the South, misled by the false reports of their own newspapers, see in it only the ruin of the estates of Jamaica and the other islands ; so that they are more alarmed than ever for the fate of their own plantations. Moreover, the example of the British government, in having given full pecuniary compensation to the owners for every slave made free, makes them quote this as a precedent, and as a *sine qua non* of any project of American

emancipation. The Abolitionists of the North will not listen to such a proposition : and the very amount at which the slaves are estimated, namely, 1,200 millions of dollars, or nearly 300 millions sterling, puts full compensation out of the question.

By the general interpretation of the Constitution of the United States, the Congress of the whole Union is considered to have no power to abolish slavery in any of the separate States ; to each of which, the full sovereignty of domestic legislation is guaranteed and secured. They cannot, therefore, while this is held to be the law and constitution of the country, interfere in the matter, as a Congress, any more than England could constitutionally or legally violate a compact or treaty by which she might be bound to any independent States uniting with her for common protection, or interfere with their domestic legislation. Whatever is done, therefore, in the way of legal emancipation, must be done by the legislatures of the States themselves. Now, these will not suffer the question of Abolition to be even discussed ; nor is there a single member, perhaps, of all the Southern legislatures, who really thinks it would be well to abolish slavery ; or if such a solitary individual could be found, he would know that it would be utterly useless for him to open his lips on the subject.

With the whole press, the whole public opinion, and the whole legislative authority, therefore, united against even the bare proposition of any plan of emancipation, it cannot be even broached in the Slave States themselves ; and in Congress they cannot lawfully deal with the matter, beyond receiving

petitions, and debating on them. Even this—the only thing they can do, as the law and constitution now stand—they decline, and will continue to decline, so long as the Slave States maintain their full representation in Congress. There thus seems no present hope of any speedy and peaceful means by which slavery can be abolished by the legislatures of America ; while the feebleness, ignorance, disunion, poverty, and utter deficiency in intelligence, leaders, and means, must make any attempt on the part of the slaves themselves, just as hopeless ; because an insurrection could never rise to any height, with the existing vigilance of the masters, without being instantly crushed ; and if it proceeded to an actual war, the whites, few as they are, from their intelligence, union, discipline, and wealth, would subdue the blacks in a single campaign, and their fate would then be ten times worse than before. Emigration to Africa, or colonization as it is here termed, of all the adult population ; and a prevention of an increase in the young—seem to me the only means that could effectually cure the evil, in the existing temper of the public mind ; but this would require to be conducted on a most extensive scale at once, to be efficient ; and would demand such sacrifices of property, and advances of money, for the carrying it out, that there is no more hope of this, than of any other remedy yet proposed. Every year, however, by adding to the number of the coloured population, only increases both the danger of insurrection, and the difficulty of averting it ; so that the prospect is gloomy and fearful in every point of view.

The only ground of hope that I can perceive is

this—that the real facts respecting the beneficial effects of emancipation in the West Indies, must sooner or later become known to all the slave-owners in America ; and when they can be thoroughly convinced by these facts, that the freedom of the negroes is not only perfectly compatible with the safety of the whites, but that their estates will yield them more profit under free labour than under slaves, and that their incomes will be increased, and their property rendered at once more productive and more secure ; from that moment its speedy accomplishment will be secure.*

Among the novelties in nature which we saw at Charleston, was a small worm, called the trinket-worm, characterized by this peculiarity, which gives rise to its name. On the leaves of a wild vine, called the trinket-vine, is found a small worm, which looks at first like a short piece of white thread, and is almost motionless. If the leaf be taken off, and placed under a glass-case in a room, this little thread will, in the short space of twenty-four hours, grow into a good-sized caterpillar, beautifully coloured, and studded with golden spots. When matured, it will climb up the glass, fasten one of its extremities to the glass roof, and having the other depending in the air, will curl itself into a great variety of forms,

* Since this was written, the admirable work of that distinguished and benevolent philanthropist, Joseph John Gurney, describing the State of the West Indies from a Winter's Tour, in Letters addressed to Henry Clay, of Kentucky, has appeared ; and will do more to enlist the attention of the Southern planters of America, to the pecuniary advantages of Freedom over Slavery, than all the Abolition Tracts that have ever been printed.

presenting exquisite patterns for gold trinkets, such as earrings, brooches, clasps, &c., and varying these from time to time in great diversity—from whence its name.

In one of the friendly parties at which we had the pleasure to pass an agreeable evening, we saw a number of the large fireflies of Cuba, which had been brought from Havannah as a present, by a gentleman recently from thence. They were as large as the largest bees, or as a common-sized beetle. Their pairs of eyes protruded from the head like two luminous globes, and it was from these that the light proceeded, more brilliant than that of the firefly of America, and with a rich variety of tints or hues. So refulgent are they at night, that we were told it was the custom in Havannah for ladies to have them encased alive in black gauze, or fine network or lace, and disperse them through their hair as head-ornaments. The light is strongest when the insect is under irritation from pressure, or other causes of pain, and when it sleeps it altogether disappears.

APPENDIX—VOL. I.

REPORT OF A PUBLIC MEETING, HELD IN NEW ORLEANS, TO ESTABLISH A SAILORS' HOME.

(From the New Orleans Commercial Pulletin, of April 18, 1839.)

ON Sunday evening last, the Presbyterian church, in Lafayette-square, was filled to overflowing, with one of the largest audiences ever seen within its walls, to assist in promoting the benevolent object of forming a Sailors' Home for the port of New Orleans. The lower part of the church was filled with ladies and gentlemen, principally resident families of the city, including some strangers, and every seat was occupied, while many stood in the aisles. The galleries had been judiciously appropriated to the seamen only; and from two to three hundred of well-dressed and orderly sailors were ranged in the galleries on each side, and added greatly to the interest of the scene.

The services of the evening were commenced with a hymn and prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Vancourt, after which the President of the meeting, Mr. Breedlove, the Collector of the port of New Orleans, made the following remarks:—He said that the public notices in the papers, and from the pulpits of this morning, sufficiently explained the object of the meeting. It would now be addressed on the subject by their distinguished visitor and guest, Mr. Buckingham; and he felt assured that while that gentleman already enjoyed the grateful thanks of the community, for the pleasure he had recently imparted to them by his varied labours, their posterity would embalm his name with honour for his efforts in the Sailor's cause; and if chance or choice should, after his departure now, ever direct his footsteps to New Orleans again, he would see the fruits of his benevolent labours, in the erection of a Sailors' Home, filled with happy inmates, familiar with his name, and grateful to him for originating the effort by which this work of philanthropy will then no doubt be accomplished.

Mr. Buckingham then rose to address the assembly. He said he rejoiced to see before him so convincing a proof, as this overflowing audience furnished, of the deep interest which had at length been awakened in the Sailor's behalf. This was the third public meeting that he had had the privilege of attending in New Orleans during the past week on this subject—each increasing in interest, until they had now arrived at a point when all the city seemed to be awakened to its importance. He felt, therefore, the full force of the responsibility that lay upon him; the largeness and respectability of the audience, the sacredness of the day, and the solemnity of the place, added to the interest of the cause itself, made him feel the greatest anxiety that the proceedings of the evening should be conducted in the most efficient and becoming manner, and that its results should be worthy of the occasion that had brought them together.

He said the order in which he desired to present this subject to his hearers, was the following :—First, to shew that Sailors were a most neglected class, and to assign the reason for this. Secondly, to prove that they had powerful claims to our attention and support. Thirdly, to enumerate the disadvantages under which they laboured, as compared with other classes. Fourthly, to show the temptations to which they were exposed, and the sufferings and injuries to which they were subjected on this account. Lastly, to point out the mode by which their condition could be improved : and to prove, by the example of other sea-port towns, what good had been done by such modes being adopted.

First, as to the fact of sailors being a neglected class, no man acquainted with their history or condition could doubt it. There were benevolent institutions, clubs, societies, and associations, for almost every class but seamen ; and therefore it was that no portion of the community derived so little assistance from their fellow-men as sailors. Fewer of their number rose from the common ranks to the superior, than of any other class, and much fewer laid by the means of providing for themselves in sickness or old age ; so that when these came upon them, being unprovided, they were without relief. One great cause of this, no doubt, was the state of separation in which they lived from the rest of the world. They passed the greater part of their lives on another element from that occupied by men in general—

“ Their march was on the mountain-wave,
Their home was on the deep.”

And, therefore, being constantly removed from the presence of their fellow-men, they enjoyed but little of their sympathy ; thus proving the truth of the old adage—“ out of sight, out of mind.”

Secondly, their claims, however, to the sympathy and assistance of their fellow-men, were as strong as that which could be presented by any class of the community, as would be seen by a very slight enumeration of them. 1st. They were the chief instruments by which the Deity had chosen that the world should be progressively made known to its own inhabitants ; for, from the day when the ark rested on Ararat, up to the present hour, all great discoveries of continents, islands, and seas, had been made by intrepid and hardy navigators ; and though we dwelt chiefly on the names of the leaders of such expeditions, they would have been nothing without the seamen. How much we venerate such leaders, and honour even their descendants, might be seen in the fact, that at the present moment there had just arrived in the city of New Orleans, a Florentine lady, the lineal descendent of the great Amerigo Vespucci, one of the early discoverers of this continent ; and all classes of citizens, from the members of congress at Washington, to the humblest member of the community, vied with each other to pay her homage. This was a noble feeling, worthy of all commendation ; but if he, Mr. Buckingham, could only summon up from their graves, the departed navigators of the olden time, Da Gama, Columbus, Vespucci, Raleigh, and others of that heroic age, and bid them tell the audience by whose bravery, firmness, energy, patience, perseverance, and skill, their voyages had been accomplished and their discoveries achieved, there would not be one who would not say—“ To our intrepid mariners were we mainly indebted for success : and to them, in future, be accorded a full share of the honours we enjoy.” 2nd. As the agents of commerce, as well as of discovery, they were also entitled to our support. The two countries of Britain and America, owed to their ships and seamen, more than to almost any other agency, the great prosperity they now enjoy. What would it avail England to be the largest manufacturer in the world, but for her seamen, who convey these products to distant quarters of the globe for sale ?

And what would it avail the United States, though her fertile lands yielded so much more of food in grain, and materials in cotton, sugar, rice, indigo, and other valuable products, were it not that her seamen transport this surplus to every shore in search of purchasers, who give it all the value it possesses? The opulent planter and the wealthy merchant of America, as well as the extensive manufacturer and rich trader of England, are indebted, in a great degree, to the seamen of their respective countries for the wealth they enjoy; and almost every member of the community in both nations, if they but look around on all they eat, drink, wear, and consume in their dwellings in a single day, will see how much of it is foreign produce, which never could be purchased or procured but by the agency of ships and seamen, who carry out the produce and fabrics of their own country, and bring back in return the productions of almost every other region under the sun—from the frozen sea to the torrid zone; and from California to the equator. 3rd. Of their agency in war, and the bravery and fidelity with which they defend their country in the hour of peril, he would say no more than this—that in England the sentiment was universal, that—

“ Britain’s best bulwarks are her wooden walls.”

And he believed that in America, while the land forces had not been found wanting in the faithful discharge of their duties, the fleets and squadrons, and even the single ships of the United States’ navy, had evinced as much bravery and skill as those of any other ships in the world, and defended their flag with a fidelity that all must admire. The neglected seamen of both countries might, therefore, appropriately sing, in the language of their popular poet, Dibdin—

“ Then oh ! protect the hardy tar,
Be mindful of his merit,
And when again you’re plunged in war
He’ll show his daring spirit.”

If, however, seamen, as a class, present these powerful claims on the community, from being the principal agents in the promotion of discovery, the establishment of commerce, and the defence of their country from hostile powers, they are no less entitled to admiration for the personal qualities and characteristics by which they are distinguished from most others. Their bravery is so tempered by gentleness and generosity, that a thorough-bred and true-hearted sailor has been well described as—

“ In war like a lion—in peace like a lamb.”

And this generosity is so equally shown to foe as well as friend, that the maxim by which their warfare is conducted, is to give fair play during the combat, to show mercy when it is ended, and to rescue all whom they can from perishing—

“ To snatch even the vanquished from death and the grave,
For the true-hearted seaman but conquers to save.”

Then again, in all their social and domestic affections, who can surpass the sons of the ocean? fidelity is their constant character; and their friendship is as firm, as their love is ardent and sincere. Faithful to their country, their commander, their officers, and their shipmates, under every possible trial; fond as lovers, husbands, and fathers, of those whom they are bound to protect; and filial and affectionate to their aged parents and relatives, whatever may be their condition; and, at the same time generous to a fault, to all who are in need, for their motto is—

“ While a shot’s in the locker, a messmate to bless,
It shall always be shared with a friend in distress.”

Such are their claims to sympathy, admiration, and, if necessary, support, by the importance of the duties they fulfil in the great business of life, and by the manner in which they blend the social and domestic virtues with the sterner features of their character.

Thirdly,—Mr. Buckingham pointed out the disadvantages under which seamen, as a class, laboured, as compared with other portions of the community. 1st. From the necessity of giving to a thorough-bred seaman the training of his limbs and muscles to the necessary degree of flexibility to mount the high and giddy mast, and necessary degree of firmness to suffer and endure, as well as to be cool and self-possessed in the hour of the greatest danger—a training which could only be acquired by sending boys *early* to sea. They all laboured, therefore, under the disadvantage of imperfect education. No morning or evening academy, no Sunday-school, no domestic tuition, was open to them; but from the moment of their embarkation on a sea life, the winds and waves were their only teachers, and the power to do and dare, to suffer and to sustain, were the only lessons they learnt; so that very many could neither read nor write, and could, therefore, never rise above their first condition as common seamen before the mast. 2nd. The same circumstance of their going so early to sea, cut them off from all the powerful, though endearing influence of a mother's tenderness, a father's care, a brother's admonition, or a sister's love—those influences which effect so much when rightly directed in the formation of character, and surround the young and incautious with a protecting shield. 3rd. They were also deprived, by this early separation from their homes, of the valuable lessons of prudence and economy, in the acquisition, use, and disbursement of money; while youths of other trades or professions received their wages in small portions at a time, and learned, by habit, the important duty of keeping some adjusted balance between their income and expenditure, boys at sea receive all their earnings in large sums, at distant intervals of time, and being thus unused to the gradual and moderate expenditure of their earnings in small sums, they were wholly disqualified for the custody of large amounts, and generally, like children, were eagerly impatient to spend all they received as speedily as possible, often purchasing present pleasure at the expense of future pain.

Fourthly,—If this, said Mr. Buckingham, were their condition, and no other circumstance called upon us to hold out to them the friendly aid of counsel and support, it were sufficient to enlist our sympathies, because their very weakness, and the unprotected state in which they are, makes them like children, unable to take care of themselves. The same chivalrous spirit, therefore, which impels a man to rush to the protection of a woman when she is in distress, or a child, when it is imposed upon, ought to impel us to the sailor's rescue; for true chivalry consists in defending the weak against the strong, and helping those who most stand in need of our assistance. If it be asked, who are the strong that take advantage of the seaman's weakness, and impose upon his good nature and credulity, to their benefit and to his wrong? the answer will be this—In almost every sea-port in Britain and in America, there is a class of persons, most appropriately called by the seamen themselves "*Land-sharks*," who, like that monster of the deep, lie in wait only to devour. These are the grog-shop keepers, who, under the guise of boarding-houses for seamen, lure them into their dens of intoxication, profligacy and vice, and first drowning their reason by stupefying drinks, then inflaming their passions by every excitement they can place in their way, at length bind them captive in their chains, drain them of every dollar they possess; and when they have wrested from them all their hard-earned gains, they either turn them adrift on the world, to shift for themselves, with bodies diseased by the poison they have made them swallow, minds disordered by the scenes of vice in which they have

mingled, clothing gone, by being pledged at the pawnbrokers for debts or for drink, and neither food, raiment, nor home; or else they hold them in bondage until some ship is in want of hands, when the poor victims are transferred to the vessel, and the month's wages in advance—which ought to be applied to the sailor's outfit, in giving him the requisite stock of clothes and necessities for his voyage—is absorbed by the harpy in whose custody he is for the payment of some arrear of debt, not contracted for the sailor's comfortable subsistence, but run up against him for the rum he has been persuaded to drink, and for other vicious indulgences, as ruinous to the body as to the soul.

Such, said Mr. Buckingham, is the condition of the great bulk of the seamen in England and America; two of the most intelligent, powerful, wealthy, moral, and religious nations in the world. But, I ask, he added, is not this the deeper reproach to us all, that in two such nations such a state of things should exist; and that all our intelligence, power, wealth, morality, and religion, should not yet have taught us to perform the act of the good Samaritan towards our wounded and suffering fellow-countrymen, the seamen of our waters, who, like the traveller, have literally "fallen among thieves;" and who have lain for a long while stripped, naked, and bleeding, in the highway; while the priest and the Levite have looked on, any passed by on the other side? Let it be our duty then, said the speaker, to bind up their bruised limbs, to pour wine and oil into their bleeding wounds, and to set them on our own beast, and convey them to an inn, and leave there something for their maintenance and comfort till they recover. Our duty as Christians, is plain; for in the language of our blessed Saviour, we have but to look upon the example of the good Samaritan, and then follow our Lord's benign advice—"Go thou and do likewise."

Lastly,—Mr. Buckingham then began to unfold the remedies which, in his judgment, seemed best adapted to the cure of this melancholy condition of the meritorious, but injured and suffering class, whose interests were now under consideration. The first step, he thought, was to raise a sufficient sum from the community of New Orleans, to build an Asylum or "Sailor's Home;" to erect, in short, such an inn as that to which the good Samaritan took the wounded object of his compassion and his care, from the road leading down to Jericho, up to Jerusalem. The sum required for this would be insignificant, when compared with the population, wealth, and resources of New Orleans. Such a building being erected, and furnished with all the plain and substantial comforts that could make it a pleasant home, with clean and well-aired beds, a frugal and wholesome table, without intoxicating drinks; there might be added to it an exercise-ground for healthy athletic sports, in which sailors delight, and which keep their limbs and muscles in flexibility and firmness; a garden for the cultivation of vegetables, fruits, and flowers, of which they are also excessively fond; and while these out-door pleasures should engage a portion of their time, to have for in-door enjoyment a news-room, with papers and magazines adapted to their taste; a small library selected for the same end, and such other innocent occupations as should unite pleasure with instruction, and entertainment and even mirth with morality. A school might be attached, in which the elements of navigation should be taught, so as to give the young sailors, especially, the means of qualifying themselves for officers, and rising gradually to the rank of commanders, by blending the theory of nautical science with the practical knowledge of seamanship; and adding good moral character to the whole.

A Savings' Bank should also form a part of such an Institution, in which the hard-earned wages of the seaman should be deposited on his arrival, and placed at accumulating interest; giving him power, of course, to draw

such sums weekly as he himself, while sober, might deem sufficient for his rational enjoyment; but placing the great bulk of it in safe custody even from himself, so as to effect:—1st, the great object of saving him from the perpetual temptation which the constant carrying of money about the person involves:—2ndly, to avoid the risk of its being lost or stolen:—and, 3rdly, to give him the dignified feeling of being possessed of a property which is increasing by accumulation, and which, if left for a voyage or two in this condition, would not only enable him to lay in a stock of comforts every time he went to sea, but form a little fund to which he might look forward for sickness or old age.

Another, and a very essential part of such an Institution, should be this—
 a Store, well provided with seamen's apparel, bedding, and other necessities, prepared under the direction of the superintendent or committee, made of substantial materials, strongly put together, to combine comfort and durability, instead of the miserable, flimsy, and unservicable supplies which they now get from the slop-sellers. And if these articles were prepared of the best materials, bought at wholesale prices, and the making of them were given to the widows and orphans, or wives and daughters of seamen, these might be employed at better wages than are now paid by the slop-sellers to their dependants, and thus made happy by profitable labour; while the cost to the sailors, supplied from such a Store, need not be more than half what they now pay for their outfit. And thus might be united comfort and economy to the men, and benevolent assistance to the women; while husbands, fathers, wives, and children, would share in the benefits it would confer.

Such a Sailor's Home as this, might be built on a scale to accommodate 200 men and boys, with every requisite in furniture and all the auxiliaries named, for 20,000 dollars; and when once established, free of debt or other incumbrances, which the benevolence of this community could so easily effect, all the rest would be easy. The sums paid for weekly board and lodging by the inmates, supposing them to be exactly the same as they now pay for the wretched accommodation they obtain in their present dwellings, would give them better fare, more healthy, more nutritive, and more agreeable; and, leave, besides a sufficient profit to pay a handsome salary to some retired sea-captain, who might be procured to preside over such a Home: to a matron to superintend all its domestic arrangements; and leave a surplus for the school-master to teach, and the chaplain to perform religious services, not merely on the Sabbath, but to train the seamen, who are naturally disposed to join with earnestness in the duties of unostentatious devotion, to the duty and the pleasure of morning and evening prayer, as none know and feel more powerfully than they, the dependance of human life on the frailest tenure, and the comfort of a reliance on the protecting care of Heaven. In the language of the Psalmist—"They who go down to the sea in ships, they whose business is in the great waters, these see the marvellous works of the Lord and His wonders in the deep;" and in no class of men can the sentiment of pure devotion be more easily kindled, or more steadily sustained, than in seamen, when guided by the tongue or the hand they have reason to love and respect.

Such "Sailor's Homes" as these might be easily erected in every port of the world; and it is matter of just reproach to the nations of the earth that they do not exist. They are, unhappily, at present—

"Like angels' visits—few and far between."

But there is no difficulty, if the community will be but just and generous, in making them abundant and near. The magnificent asylum of Greenwich Hospital, the pride of England, and the admiration of the world, is a proof

of what can be done, if a nation thinks fit to accomplish it; and the United States, in its naval hospitals at New York, at Philadelphia, and at Norfolk, shows that the care of its seamen is not wholly overlooked. But these institutions are designed for the seamen of ships of war only; and do not embrace the sailors of the mercantile marine at all. Yet surely they who conduct the principal commerce of the world, and who contribute to the interchange of its products, the augmentation of its wealth, and the civilization which follows in the train of commerce, by the introduction of the arts of peace, cannot be less worthy the care of the philanthropist and the Christian, than they who fight the battles of war. Let neither be neglected, but let both be put upon an equal footing—for this, at least, common justice demands.

Of late years the public sentiment has begun to be enlisted in this object, and accordingly, there are in London some few establishments for the benefit of merchant seamen, though not of the precise description required; and here, said Mr. Buckingham, I cannot refrain from doing justice to the name of one of our gallant admirals, the *Hero of Navarino*, Sir Edward Codrington, who in his place in Parliament, and on all suitable occasions out of that body, of which he is still a member, has advocated the Sailor's cause, and assisted, by his tongue and his purse, towards the promotion of every measure that can conduce to their welfare.

When a motion for the abolition of the odious practice of Impressment was introduced by Mr. Buckingham into the British House of Commons, it was seconded by Sir Edward Codrington; and his authority and influence, from his high character and experience, contributed materially to the successful issue with which the debate was crowned, by forcing on the ministers of England the necessity of passing a law for the encouragement of voluntary enlistment, by which the practice of Impressment received its death-blow, never again to arise.

When another motion was introduced by Mr. Buckingham into the British senate, to institute an examination into the causes of the great number of Shipwrecks, with a view to devise some measures by which the loss of life and property at sea might be abated, the same gallant Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, enjoying, as he deserves, the character of *The Seaman's Friend*, seconded this motion, and by his labours on the committee, materially promoted the object of the enquiry, and joined heartily in every proposition for the seamen's welfare. The evidence obtained by that committee, showed that one of the causes of the evil, was the neglected condition of the seamen, who, all the while they were on shore, were kept in a state of intoxication by the harpies who preyed on them, shipped often in a state of drunkenness, and almost always in a state of destitution, and therefore, rendered unable to discharge their duties properly; so that when the hour of peril came and demanded their utmost exertions, they were often unfit for the efforts required of them, and ship, and crew, and cargo perished accordingly. The nature of the disease pointed out its own remedy—it was to elevate the condition of seamen, by making them sober, intelligent, moral, and responsible beings, and giving them new motives to improve their condition, so as to cheer them with the hope of rising in their profession; and teaching them indeed to aspire to the dignity of officers, by adequately discharging all their duties as men.

America had not been behind England in this good work, though both were far behind what each ought to be. At Boston there were two Sailors' Homes, one under the care of the Rev. Mr. Lord, assisted by a president and committee; and the other under the care of the Rev. Father Taylor, himself originally a sailor, and now a minister of the gospel; and of all men he (Mr. Buckingham) had ever seen, the best adapted for the task he

has undertaken. His children, for such the seamen of his Home and church actually were, loved and revered him like a parent, and yielded to his gentle authority in every point desired. It was a luxury of no ordinary kind, to join in the worship of this mariner's church, and see the warm tears trickling down the bronzed and furrowed cheeks of men, whom no peril could daunt and no danger appal, but whose hearts melted like wax before the soft influence of Father Taylor's pious aspirations and affectionate injunctions, and to hear the sobs of the widows and the orphans, whose husband and fathers had formed members of the congregation, and whose shadows seemed to linger on the spot after their deaths. The Home too, was the most comfortable domestic asylum that could be imagined; and the inmates, to use an ordinary, but expressive phrase, seemed as happy as the day was long. At New York such another home existed, and was under excellent management, and productive of the best effects; and all that was wanted now was to multiply their numbers, and excite a generous rivalry among the sea-ports of this country, of England, and of the world, as to which should build the most and the best, and who should send forth from beneath their roofs the greatest number of reformed, instructed, sober, and intelligent men, to be a blessing to themselves, a benefit to the owners of the ships they manned, a comfort to their families, an honour to their country, and heralds and instruments of good to the more distant quarters of the world.

In other parts of the United States, in New Bedford, in Charleston, and in Savannah, Mr. Buckingham had enjoyed the pleasure of seeing these good works begun. He had been invited to address public meetings at Boston and New York, for the purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the community in favour of the existing establishments; and these efforts were fortunately crowned with great success. But at New Bedford, Charleston, and Savannah, the establishments had yet to be formed; and it might be gratifying to the audience to know what had been the steps taken at each of these places, consequent to the public addresses which he had been privileged to deliver in each; because, from the examples set by these ports, New Orleans might take a pattern, though she would not be content merely to copy, but would no doubt go far beyond the originals. At New Bedford, in Massachusetts, the ship-owners had agreed to raise the sum of 10,000 dollars, by a light tax, of six cents per ton on all shipping owned in that port, and in twenty-fourths the assent of all the shipowners was obtained to this proposition, so quickly was the matter brought to issue. At Charleston, the shippers and merchants agreed to pay two cents a bale on sea-land, and one cent a bale on ordinary cotton, and one cent a barrel on rice, for all shipments made in that port, to build a Sailors' Home. At Savannah, it was proposed to do the same, as well as to invite individual contributions from all quarters to make the sum sufficient for the object required.

The question then presents itself, said Mr. Buckingham, "What will New Orleans do?" That was the question for the audience to answer. Would it be beaten by places so much smaller than itself, as New Bedford, Charleston, and Savannah? He could hear every beating heart in the audience answering "No! we will not be beaten by any place!" This was the English and American spirit, derived from the good old stock of Anglo-Saxon race and blood, from whence both had sprung, and all that was wanting was to direct this feeling into good and proper channels. Here, it was evidenced in the contests for superiority between the North and the South; in the competitions between individual States; Kentucky against Ohio, Pennsylvania against Virginia, Massachusetts against New York, as to which could do or accomplish the greatest amount of business, raise the greatest quantity of produce, execute the greatest length of rail-road or canal, or contribute the

greatest force towards some sectional or political victory. It is seen in the racing of the steamboats on the Mississippi; in the very boat-race of this afternoon, where Mobile is matched against New Orleans, and Alabama against Louisiana, to see whether the one or the other can produce the swiftest boat, and most skilful rowers; and test the superiority of the one over the other by the issue of the contest.

The spirit of rivalry and competition, then, already exists; and the only other necessary question to be answered is—"Is there money enough in New Orleans to accomplish the object, supposing there to be a disposition to apply it to this benevolent purpose?" Let the splendid undertakings of your city, said Mr. Buckingham, answer this question. In the Directory of New Orleans, these few, but important, because apposite facts are recorded. To build the St. Charles Hotel, 600,000 dollars were required, and it was subscribed in a few weeks. But the inhabitants of the French quarter, though separated only by Canal-street, were not to be beaten by those of the American quarter, and the St. Louis Hotel was determined on; 600,000 dollars were also required for it, and it was speedily raised; and both these proud structures being now completed, evince the spirit and the enterprise of the citizens of both quarters, the old and the new. There is, then, plenty of money in New Orleans. But in addition to the hotels, look at the number of the splendid banks, palaces of marble, massive in structure, and gorgeous in decoration, costing in the aggregate some millions of dollars to erect, and all finished and in full operation. Then the theatres, 350,000 dollars for the St. Charles, and 280,000 dollars for the Orleans, 180,000 dollars for the Camp, and 250,000 dollars for the new projected theatre; as it seems, there are not yet enough—Plenty of money, therefore, in New Orleans.

The last Annual Report of the New Orleans Port Society, contained striking proof of the abundance of mis-spent treasures, squandered on that which was not merely useless, but mischievous in a high degree. From that Report he learnt, that there were no less than 5,000 seamen constantly in this port during the shipping season; and that about 30,000 seamen visited it during the year. Supposing them to expend each only 30 dollars, which is far below the average, being not more than two months wages for each, this would amount to 900,000; the greater part of which was spent among the landlords in intoxicating drinks, or otherwise squandered without producing benefit to themselves. In an analysis of the general expenditure in wines, spirits, cordials, and other strong drinks, in the course of a single year in New Orleans, it had been shown, that the enormous sum of 6,884,800 dollars was the amount—a sum that would almost seem incredible, but that it was given on the authority of Dr. Barton, whose accuracy few would venture to dispute. In this respect, New Orleans seems to have gone beyond all competitors, and to have no rival that can come near her, in the immense expenditure of her treasure, for that which is not merely useless, but mischievous; effecting no single good, but prolific in the production of a thousand evils. This, however, is the dark side of the picture, and shall not be dwelt upon too long. There is, fortunately, a bright one, in the many benevolent Institutions which the city contains; for though many of its transient visitors from the north and west, are among the most reckless and profligate of men, there are hundreds, nay thousands, who do not partake in their vices; and as to the permanently resident population of New Orleans, he believed there were no cities of the north that could present a more intelligent, more virtuous, more honourable, or a more generous class, as indignant at the vices of their visitors, as they were active in their endeavours to counteract them by the encouragement of every good work.

As the South, then, plumes itself upon its chivalry and generosity, I will not say unjustly—but the very terms, “the chivalrous, the warm, the generous, and the sunny south,” assume at least a greater expansion of heart, and more liberal feelings, than belong to the “cold and calculating north;”—let this reputation besustained by a determination on the part of New Orleans, not to be eclipsed in this good work by any city of the Union. Its mighty Mississippi, the “Father of Waters,” calls upon it in a loud voice, to build a Sailor’s Home upon its margin, that shall as far surpass the similar establishments of other ports, as the Mississippi surpasses the Charles, the Hudson, the Astley, the Cooper, or the Savannah. Let the Giant Missouri, the beautiful Ohio, the deep Arkansas, and the hundred other tributary streams that make up the 20,000 miles of navigable waters, which float the produce of millions of acres to your levee and your wharves, let all these join chorus in demanding of you to give freely of the wealth which these bring to your doors, and which the ships moored abreast your dwellings are waiting to carry to other lands, a generous contribution towards the building and equipment of a Sailor’s Home.—And as the position occupied by New Orleans, seems to promise it a future greatness and importance, the extent of which, time alone can unfold, so let it tell posterity, that the care it took of the navigators of its inland waters, and of the more distant seas, was commensurate with the share they had in developing its commercial grandeur; and let the proud edifice or edifices, which you may raise along the banks of your majestic stream as Sailor’s Homes, tell the latest generation, that while blessed with an opulence which made your merchants princes, and your traffickers the nobles of the earth, you were also the guardians and protectors of those, by whose labour and perils you had acquired this dignity and this renown.

At the close of Mr. Buckingham’s address—of which we have given but the merest outline, as it occupied nearly two hours in the delivery, and would fill many columns of our paper, if reported in full—the President, Mr. Breedlove, announced to the meeting the progress that had been already made in the good work, as the result of this and the previous meetings held upon this subject. One gentleman, a large shipper of cotton, said that he had 600 bales just ready for exportation, and that he would pay five dollars per bale, or 3,000 dollars on the whole, if the shippers of cotton from this port, would adopt the example of Charleston, and pay one cent per bale on all cotton shipped. This was followed up by another gentleman, who owned a number of steam vessels, employed chiefly in towing, and he undertook to give for the Sailor’s Home of New Orleans, fifty cents for every ship, and twentyfive cents for every brig and schooner towed up or down the Mississippi by his vessels. A broker next undertook to pay for the same object fifty cents on every vessel cleared through his office. Several shippers have agreed to pay more than the proposed cent on each bale of cotton, hogshead of sugar, hogshead of tobacco, bundles of staves, bags of coffee, and other staple produce shipped, and goods exported and imported; and then, in addition to these, were several donations from individuals, annual subscriptions of five dollars each, and life subscriptions of twentyfive dollars each. Among the last, Mr. Buckingham had authorised his name to be entered; for as he was neither a shipper of cotton, sugar, or tobacco, he could not contribute in that form; but having hitherto subscribed to other Societies for the benefit of Seamen, both here and at home, he wished to be considered a citizen of New Orleans, for the short period of his stay in it, that he might have the pleasure of practising himself that which he endeavoured to persuade others to do; and he felt sure, that no citizen of New Orleans, of native birth, would do less than an Englishman, especially in his own country, when the object was to better the condition of American seamen, and thus conduce to the welfare and glory of the Union.

Many other subscriptions were entered by gentlemen going up to the table to inscribe their names; and the ladies of the audience seemed to take so deep an interest in the matter, that there is no doubt but that they will form committees and collect subscriptions among their own sex, to carry forward this benevolent undertaking, especially as the wives and daughters of seamen are to be benefitted by it, as well as the seamen themselves. Some legal gentlemen proposed, that the lawyers should give a dollar on every case in which they received a fee; and that medical men should give a dollar on every patient that paid them a bill. It would be *easy, of course, to enumerate the many modes in which the money could be raised*; for what are 20,000 dollars for a population such as this, to devote to so good a work? But of this we feel assured, that if the Committee only act promptly and vigorously, while the impression produced by this meeting is yet fresh and warm, they may raise a sum that shall do honour to our community, and make the 'Sailors' Home of New Orleans one of the most substantial and beautiful, as it is sure to be one of the most useful and popular of all the Institutions of our flourishing City.

END OF VOL. I.

